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AN
ILLUSTRATED HISTORY
OF THE
DOMINION



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the matter was as far from settlement as possible. Early in the month of January, 1839, some lawless persons from New Brunswick went into the disputed territory to cut timber, when Governor Fairfield, of Maine, sent a large party of constables, under command of the sheriff, to expel the intruders and seize their lumber. A fight ensued which resulted in a mutual capture; the Americans captured McLaughlan, the British warden, and carried him off to Augusta; while the British made the American land-agent McIntyre, a prisoner, and locked him up in Fredericton jail. Both provinces at once went ablaze with excitement, and intemperate words threatened to be soon followed by still more intemperate acts. Governor Fairfield sent two thousand men, under Colonel Jarvis, to support the sheriff; Sir John Harvey issued a proclamation claiming the disputed territory as British property, and calling on the Governor of Maine to withdraw his troops, to which that functionary responded by a counter-proclamation, claiming the territory as part of the State of Maine, and calling out ten thousand State militia to support the claim. Sir John now took decided steps, and despatched Colonel Maxwell, with the 36th and 60th regiments and a train of artillery to the Upper St. John, to watch the movements of the American militia. The people of the province were most enthusiastic; volunteers from St. John Fredericton and other points turned out in great numbers and joined the army of the Madawaska, as Maxwell's force was called, and opened communication with Sir John, Colborne at Quebec, and Sir John Harvey at Fredericton, while the Nova Scotia Legislature, which was in session at the time, became so excited, that the members of the Assembly not only voted \$100,000 and 8,000 men to assist the sister province, but so far forgot their legislative dignity as to give three cheers for the king, which were caught up and re-echoed by the crowd in the gallery. The excitement was also very great in the United States; but the Democratic party did not want to needlessly risk another war with Great Britain, and President Van Buren adopted a pacific policy; conciliatory notes passed between the English minister at Washington and the secretary of state, and General Winfield Scott was despatched to the frontier with full powers to settle the difficulties with Sir John Harvey. The war party in the United States, of course, made a good deal of noise, and Daniel Webster made a little temporary political capital by calling Van Buren a coward, and declaring that if Great Britain would not conform to the Treaty of 1783, the United States would take forcible possession of the disputed territory on next 4th of July; but the bulk of the people were in favor of not disturbing the peace between the two countries, and Webster found out, three years later, that he could gain more by negotiation than he could ever accomplish by force.

7.—Scott's first step on reaching Augusta was to order

the ten thousand militia Governor Fairfield had ordered out, to remain at home, and this had the immediate effect of quieting excitement. Settlement of the Maine frontier difficulty. He then entered into friendly negotiations with Sir John Harvey, and they speedily arrived at a peaceful solution of the difficulty. It was agreed that the Maine militia should be withdrawn, and Great Britain undertook to prevent any incursions into the disputed territory, until the question of the boundary was settled. This agreement was afterwards ratified by the British and American ministers; but it left the question of the boundary as unsettled as ever. We may as well continue the history of this boundary question to its close. Both governments ordered fresh surveys, and each lot of engineers made out a very clear case in favor of the pretensions of their own country; but finally, to avoid further trouble, and the possibility of war, two commissioners were appointed to settle the matter, the award to be final.

The American government appointed Daniel Webster, and the British Government sent out Lord Ashburton, a very amiable old gentleman, who let Webster have almost entirely his own way, and who consented to giving up seven thousand square miles of the best timbered and agricultural land out of the twelve thousand in dispute. The people of New Brunswick were not very well pleased at the decision arrived at, but they were feign to be content with the final settlement, on some terms, of a question which was a perpetual menace of the peace of the whole nation.

8.—Sir John Harvey administered the affairs of the province until 1841, when he was recalled on account of a slight difference between him and Lord Recall of Sir John Harvey. Squandering the public money. Sydenham, then governor-general. He had the happy knack of making himself popular, and although he was subjected to bitter attacks from a small portion of the press published in the interest of the party which opposed the surrender of the casual and territory revenues, still he gained the good will of the people, and the Legislature voted him a service of plate on his recall, in evidence of the peace and harmony which had existed between it and the executive during his administration. Sir John showed a decided tendency in favor of popular government, and that the acknowledged principle of responsible government was not carried into more active effect was through no fault of his.* Political parties were more evenly balanced in New Brunswick than in Canada and Nova Scotia: a spirit of greater moderation actuated its people. Some of the leaders, who had been instrumental in obtaining the concession granted by the civil list bill, now rested content. When a resolution to give effect to the principle laid down in Lord John Russell's despatch on the tenure of office was introduced into the Legislature, it was defeated by the casting

* Archer's History of Canada.

vote of the speaker, Charles Simonds.* Sir John Harvey was succeeded by Sir William Colebrooke, who did not find the province in a very flourishing condition. The fears of Sir Archibald Campbell had been justified, the Assembly had no sooner got possession of the hundred and fifty thousand pounds surplus to the credit of casual and territorial revenue, than they had begun to spend it lavishly and extravagantly, and, by 1842, it was not only all gone but the province was in debt and wanted to raise a loan. This was rather "a feather in the cap" of the opponents of the surrender of the casual and territorial revenue, and their satisfaction was increased when the colonial secretary informed the Legislature that their reckless manner of voting away the public funds had injured the credit of the province.

9.—The first year of Sir William Colebrooke's administration was not a fortunate one for the province; St.

Defeat of "Responsible Government" at the polls. An unfavorable picture of St. John. Election riot.

John was visited by a severe fire, and the province was subjected to one of those periodical depressions in the lumber trade which will occur once in a while in every trade as a wholesome check on over-production and over-trading; the revenues fell off considerably, and the prosperity of the province was momentarily checked, but soon began to flow on again. A determined stand for responsible government *de facto* was made by the Reform party at the general election of 1842; but the people generally took no interest in the matter; they were thoroughly conservative, and quite content to let things remain as they were, so the reformers were generally defeated at the polls. The Legislature showed its conservatism by voting a congratulatory address to the governor-general, Sir Charles Melcalfe, for a despatch he forwarded to Sir William Colebrooke in 1842, in which he claimed the right of the crown to make appointments, and recommended a reconstruction of the Legislative Council so that all political parties as well as all religious denominations should be represented in it. This was contrary to the spirit of Lord John Russell's despatch with regard to appointments; but the Assembly applauded it, and had an opportunity the very next year to show its inconsistency by objecting to the first appointment made by Sir William Colebrooke, of which we shall speak by and by. Some very serious riots occurred in Northumberland County during the election of 1842. The elections then—as until quite recently—spread over many days, and parties were thereby enabled to visit a variety of polling places. A party of disorderly persons who were opposed to the return of Mr. Ambrose Seelt, the reform candidate, organized for a tour from parish to parish, and destroyed so much property and created so much disorder that a party of soldiers had to be sent from Fredericton to disperse them. Mr. Harper, in his *History of New Bruns-*

* Archer's *History of Canada*.

wick, draws the following unflattering picture of St. John in 1842: "Destructive fires among the buildings of St. John, and the prospect of a depressing change in British duties on lumber, with an over-stocked market, gave an unhappy look to that commercial centre. More than four thousand of its people were dependant upon public charity, while over three hundred were on the limits for debt. Yet the unruly had spirit enough left to quarrel over the silly emblem of an Irish party, which had been placed on a flag-pole. The rumor of coming strife had been abroad all day, and at night a crowd from the offended faction paraded the streets insulting other citizens and howling like maniacs. Affairs appeared in an unsettled state, but the energy of the mayor and the arrests he made, quelled the disturbance. The same feeling, however, flamed out again on the subsequent twelfth of July. In the procession of that occasion and out of it, men were prepared for deadly combat. At the foot of the principal street, on the spot when the loyalists had quoted their motto from Virgil—*O fortunati quorum jam mænia surgunt*, the disgraceful scene of citizen striving against citizen with knife and bludgeon and pistol, was witnessed. Many persons were killed, hundreds were wounded, all unlucky victims of the storm which cleared the way for future peace and good will among the people of St. John."

10.—The question as to the right of appointment which the Assembly had endorsed as belonging to the governor was soon tested. On Christmas day, 1844, the Hon. William Odell, provincial secretary, died, after having filled the office since 1818, in which year he succeeded to it on the death of his father, the Hon. and the Rev. Jonathan Odell, who was the first provincial secretary of the province. Sir William Colebrooke, considering that the right of appointment was entirely in his own hands, appointed his son-in-law, Mr. Reade, provisionally, but the action called forth opposition from both parties, reformers and conservatives, and four members of the Executive Council resigned their seats. Some of the members took rather roundabout grounds for objecting to the appointment; thus Messrs. Johnson, Chandler and Hazen acknowledged the right of the crown to appoint whoever it pleased, but objected to this particular appointment because Lord Glenelg, in 1835, had laid it down as a rule that only natives of the province, or settled inhabitants, should be endowed with public appointments, and they could not regard Mr. Reade as a settled inhabitant of the province, although he may become such if he was confirmed in his appointment; but they objected to paying so high a price for that honor. The Hon. Mr. Wilnot took far more advanced views, and urged this as a favorable opportunity for introducing the practice of responsible government; he argued that the provincial secretaryship should be made into a department of the government, and a mem-

Trouble as to Mr. Reade's appointment as Provincial Secretary.

ber of the Executive Council appointed to it, who should be responsible to the Assembly, and hold office only so long as he retained the confidence of the House, instead of being a crown appointment for life. Mr. Wilmot was only a little in advance of his time, but lived to see this principle carried out. Neither the House nor the people were ready for so radical a change at this time, however, and it was some years before it was accomplished. Finding the appointment of Mr. Reade so distasteful the colonial secretary did not confirm it, and the Hon. J. Simcoe Saunders was appointed provincial secretary.

11.—The period from 1845 to 1848 was not a very eventful one in the province, which flourished moderately, and there was nothing of a very exciting nature in politics until the latter year. There was some uneasiness and dissatisfaction, for the crown lands were mismanaged, the revenue carelessly expended, and the appropriation of a surplus of the civil list fund for the purpose of surveying lands in Madawaska was considered a stretch of the royal prerogative by the governor; but no serious effort to materially change the order of things was made until 1848. In the previous year Earl Grey, the colonial secretary, had sent a despatch to Sir John Harvey, Governor of Nova Scotia, in which he clearly defined the principles of responsible government as applicable to the provinces. He held that members of the Executive Council, who directed the policy of the country, should hold office only so long as they had the support of a majority of the House, and that all heads of departments should only hold office on pleasure; that all officers under government were to be excluded from sitting in either branch of the Legislature, and that while holding office only during good behavior, they were not to be subject to removal simply on a change of government. At the session of 1848, Mr. Charles Fisher, member for York, holding that this despatch was as applicable to New Brunswick as to Nova Scotia, introduced a resolution fully approving of it, and accepting it as the rule for the province. The debate was opened on the 24th February, and the resolution was carried by a large majority on a coalition vote, both conservatives and liberals voting for it. Thus was responsible government finally recognized as the rule of the province. This was the last important act in the administration of Sir William Celebrooke, who was appointed to the Governorship of British Guiana in 1848, and was succeeded in New Brunswick by Sir Edmund Walker Head, grandson of a baronet of the same name who had been forced to flee from the States with the loyalists of 1783. Sir Edmund had the honor of being the first civilian regularly appointed to the lieutenant-governorship of the province.

12.—The career of New Brunswick from the establishment of responsible government in 1848, to confederation

in 1867 was comparatively uneventful, with the exception of the agitations on the questions of the Inter-colonial Railway and confederation, both of which subjects we have freely treated of in chapter 102, and it is useless to go over the same ground here. There was no party spirit in the province to speak of until 1855, the principal agitation being on the subject of retrenchment, the cry for reform in this direction being led by Wilmot, and his principal points of attack being the salaries of the judges. The judges protested vigorously against any reduction, and claimed that when the civil list was placed at £14,500 it included their salaries at certain fixed rates, and that to make any reduction would be a breach of faith. On this ground they appealed to England and were supported by Earl Grey, which caused some dissatisfaction in the Houses, and the subject formed "a bone of contention" for some time. "Another source of political strife arose from Free-trade discussions. The high imperial duty on flour, had led to the erection of several flour-mills near St. John. Afterwards, when this duty was withdrawn by England, the owners of the mills sought the Legislature to protect their trade by a provincial duty on all imported flour. The subject gave scope to the orators of the House, and the tax was legalized. Next session the protectionists again appeared with petitions. They asked for protective duties on all provincial industries, and a fisherman's bounty; but while the Assembly considered the whole subject, a despatch from Lord Grey was presented, in which dissent was recorded against the bill granting a bounty to hemp growers. This, viewed as an unnecessary interference, quickened into rage the feeling against the despatch system, and the rule of Downing Street. The repeal of the navigation laws added to the vexation. Mr. Wark, by his resolutions in the Assembly, tried to show that responsible government in New Brunswick was yet only a name. In face of the earl's decree another member introduced a bill to provide for fishery bounties; while, during the debate, the despotism of the colonial office was in everybody's mouth. The House cheered the bill in its third reading, and voted three thousand pounds as a bounty fund. But the defiance was a mere shadow; for the Legislative Council rejected the bill, and thus brought about the reaction of quiet." * The visit of the Prince of Wales, in 1860, was made the occasion of great and general rejoicing in St. John, and never did the city of the loyalists show itself more loyal than in welcoming our heir apparent. The *Trent* affair, in 1861, threw St. John, in common into other Canadian cities, into a momentary state of excitement; forts were repaired and great activity evinced for a while; but the danger soon passed and the city fell back into its normal condition. The session of 1866 was the most exciting

Brief resume from 1848 to 1867. List of the governors of the province.

Responsible Government established.

* Harper's *History of New Brunswick*.

known in New Brunswick for many years. The province had pronounced, in what would appear to have been most unmistakable terms, against confederation, and Hon. A. J. Smith was at the head of a strong anti-confederate ministry; still it was rumored that a decisive step would be taken to force confederation, and an exciting time was expected. Governor Gordon opened the session by informing the House in very plain and strong language that the imperial government earnestly desired a union of all the British North American provinces; and this was followed up by a motion of want of confidence in the government on the general administration of the affairs of the province. While the debate was progressing a highly dramatic effect was thrown in by the attempt of the Fenians to invade the province. A number of these misguided fanatics, who proposed to "liberate" Ireland by putting Canadians in bondage, assembled at Portland and embarked for Eastport, Me., with the intention of crossing the St. Croix River and making a descent upon St. Andrews and St. Stephen's. The 15th regiment, under Colonel Cole, was promptly despatched to the frontier, with a number of volunteers, and occupied Campobello, St. Andrews and St. Stephen's, but the Fenians, finding a warm reception prepared for them, wisely postponed their visit, and all was soon quiet on the frontier again. But the demonstration had had an effect the Fenians little calculated on, it had strengthened the bonds between the provinces and the Mother Country, showed the necessity for a closer union of the provinces for defence, and made confederation, virtually, an accomplished fact. The Legislative Council passed an address expressing a desire that the imperial government would unite the provinces under the Quebec scheme; the governor promptly endorsed the action of the Council, and the Smith ministry in the House suddenly found itself without any supporters and was forced to resign. Mr. Tilley was called on to form a ministry; a general election sent a large majority of confederates to the House; the Union resolutions were triumphantly passed, and on the 1st July, 1867, the Dominion of Canada came into existence as the youngest of the nations. The following is a list of the governors from the formation of the province to confederation:

Gen. Thomas Carleton, Gov.	1784
Hon. G. G. Ludlow, President	1786
Hon. E. Winslow, President	1803
Col. G. Johnston, President	1808
Gen. W. Hunter, Gov.	1809
Gen. W. Balfour, President	1811
Gen. G. S. Smythe, President	1812
Gen. Sir J. Saumarez, President	1813
Col. H. W. Hailes, President	1816
Gen. G. S. Smythe, Gov.	1817
Hon. Ward Chipman, President.	1823
Hon. J. M. Bliss, President	1824

Gen. Sir H. Douglas, Gov.	1825
Hon. W. Black, President	1829
Gen. Sir A. Campbell, Gov.	1832
Gen. Sir John Harvey, Gov.	1837
Sir W. M. G. Colebrooke, Gov.	1841
Sir E. W. Head, Gov.	1848
Hon. J. H. T. M. Sutton, Gov.	1854
Hon. A. Gordon, Gov.	1862
Sir C. Hastings Doyle, Lt.-Gov.	1866

CHAPTER CV.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—GOVERNMENT OF CAPTAIN PATTERSON.

1. FIRST DISCOVERY AND SUBSEQUENT SETTLEMENT OF THE ISLAND.—2. CESSION OF THE ISLAND TO BRITAIN. LORD EGMONT'S SCHEME.—3. THE ISLAND PARCELLED OUT BY LOTTERY.—4. THE ISLAND CREATED A SEPARATE PROVINCE. FINANCIAL TROUBLES.—5. INCIDENTS DURING THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.—6. SALE OF LANDS TO PAY OVERDUE QUIT-RENTS. DISSATISFACTION OF THE PROPRIETORS.—7. THE GOVERNOR REFUSES TO OBEY THE ORDERS OF THE HOME GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO RESTORING THE LANDS SOLD IN 1781.—8. RECALL OF PATTERSON AND APPOINTMENT OF LIETENANT-GOVERNOR FANNING. A STRUGGLE FOR POWER.

1.—Prince Edward Island, which has frequently been mentioned in the early portions of this work as the "Island of St. John," was discovered by John Cabot, who commanded the first expedition to the New World sent out by England after the great discovery of Columbus. This expedition left Bristol in 1497, and on St. John's Day of that year Cabot landed on a beautiful and fertile island, which he named St. John in honor of the patron saint of the day. The English, however, made no attempt to claim or colonize the island; and it was afterwards visited by Verazani—who was making discoveries in the interest of France, in 1523, and claimed by that power as part of its possessions in America. For over a century and a half after Cabot's visit the Micmac and Abenakis Indians he found on the island were left in undisturbed possession of it; and it was not until 1663 that any effort to colonize it was made by France. In that year it was granted to the Sieur Doublet, together with the Magdalen Islands, for fishing purposes. The Sieur was a captain in the French navy, and a man of some enterprise, but he did nothing beyond establishing a few temporary fishing stations on

First discovery and subsequent settlement of the Island.

the island, through the aid of certain adventurers. Probably the first settlements on the island grew out of the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, which was concluded between Great Britain and France in 1713, by which Acadia and Newfoundland were ceded to Great Britain; and by which it was provided that the French inhabitants of the ceded territory should be at liberty to remove within one year to any place of their choice. Under this provision many of the Acadians removed to the island of St. John, which still remained under French rule. This movement was followed by the establishment of a military post at Port La Joie (now Charlottetown) under the protection of the French fort at Cape Breton. However, even in 1752 the entire inhabitants of the island numbered but 1,354, notwithstanding the favorable accounts of the soil and climate which had been widely circulated. From this period to the conquest by the English, the progress of population and wealth on the island was not rapid, yet these were gradually increased and expanded until 1758, when the total number of inhabitants, from the best accounts which can be authenticated, was about 5,000, and probably this increase was to a greater extent indebted to the expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia in 1755 than anything else. We can record little or nothing of French rule in the island of St. John; there were no events connected with it beyond those mentioned which are worthy of particular remark here.

2.—The treaty of peace between France and England in 1763, by which all the possessions of the former in North America were ceded to the latter, caused a great change in the destiny of Prince Edward Island. That island, together with Cape Breton and what is now the Province of New Brunswick and part of the State of Maine, was included in the government of Nova Scotia, and so continued until 1770. In 1764 the British Government ordered a survey of the coast of its newly acquired American possessions, and Captain Holland was instructed to superintend the Northern portion of the survey, and to commence at the island of St. John. He arrived at the island in October, 1764, and found very poor accommodation at Fort Amherst, which he describes as a poor stockade, with scarcely barracks enough to accommodate the garrison, and he was obliged to provide winter quarters for himself. As to the inhabitants he says: "There are about thirty Acadian families on the island, who are regarded as prisoners, and kept on the same footing as those at Halifax. They are extremely poor, and maintain themselves by their industry in gardening, fishing, fowling, &c. The few remaining houses in the different parts of the island are very bad, and the quantity of cattle is but very inconsiderable." The captain evidently spared no time or pains in completing his surveys, for in October, 1765, he sent home Mr. Robinson with plans of the island, as well as

Cession of the Isl-
and to Britain.
Lord Egmont's
scheme.

of the Magdalen Islands, and an account of the soil, climate, &c., in which he speaks in even more glowing terms of both than had the French explorers who had previously reported on the capabilities of the island. Previous to the reception of this report—in December, 1763—the Earl of Egmont, then first lord of the admiralty, had presented a petition praying for a grant of the whole island, which he intended to turn into a sort of feudal barony with himself as lord paramount, having forty *Hundreds*, or baronies, with eight hundred manors and forty townships, each of one hundred lots containing five acres. This plan was vigorously pushed for some time, but the lords of trade and plantations opposed the scheme, and finally, on the third application for a grant of the island, flatly refused to entertain it.

3.—By the survey of Captain Holland the island was found to contain 365,400 acres, only about 10,000 of which were estimated as unfit for cultivation. Although the lords of trade and plantations refused to entertain Lord Egmont's scheme, yet they agreed to distribute the island amongst persons who had—or were supposed to have—claims upon the government; and in accordance with this plan, nearly the whole island was distributed by a lottery, which was drawn in the presence of the board of trade, on 23d July, 1767, the claims of all petitioners for allotments having been previously adjudicated on by the board. The conditions under which the distribution was made was as follows: "On twenty-six specified lots or townships a quit-rent of six shillings on every hundred acres was reserved, on twenty-nine lots four shillings, and on eleven lots two shillings, payable annually on one half of the grant at the expiration of five years, and on the whole at the expiration of ten years after the date of the grants. A reservation of such parts of each lot as might afterwards be found necessary for fortifications or public purposes, and of a hundred acres for a church and glebe, and of fifty acres for a schoolmaster, was made, five hundred feet from high-water mark being reserved for the purpose of a free fishery. Deposits of gold, silver, and coal were reserved for the crown. It was stipulated that the grantee of each township should settle the same within ten years from the date of the grant, in the proportion of one person for every two hundred acres; that such settlers should be European, foreign Protestants, or such persons as had resided in British North America for two years previous to the date of the grant; and, finally, that if one-third of the land was not so settled within four years from the date of the grant, the whole should be forfeited."* About six thousand acres were reserved for the king, and lots forty and fifty-nine were

The Island par-
celled out by
lottery.

* Campbell's *History of Prince Edward Island*.

reserved for Messrs. Mill, Cathcart and Higgins, and Messrs. Spence, Muir and Cathcart, in consideration of their having established fisheries, and otherwise improved the island; and all the remainder of the island was distributed.

4.—Very few of the grantees had any intention of settling on the island, and either sold out or alienated their property, so that in the course of a few years the bulk of it fell into the hands of a few absentee proprietors. The grantees, however, were clamorous for their political rights, and in 1768 petitioned for a separation from Nova Scotia and government of their own, which petition was granted in 1770, when there were only five resident proprietors on the island and about one hundred and fifty families. Captain William Patterson, one of the grantees, was appointed governor, and arrived in 1770, and three years afterwards a complete constitution was granted it, and the first Parliament met at Charlottetown in 1773. The government consisted of a lieutenant-governor, aided by a combined Executive and Legislative Council, and a House of Assembly of eighteen members. Of the Executive Council, three were members of the Legislative Council and one of the House of Assembly. The first trouble in the new province arose from money difficulties. In asking for a constitution the proprietors had offered to make the quit-rents due in 1772 payable at once; but they failed to pay up, and the governor was soon put to great straits to raise sufficient money to meet the civil list, which was very moderate, comprising, salary of governor, £500; secretary and registrar, £150; chief-justice, £200; attorney-general, £100; clerk of the crown and coroner, £80; provost marshal, £50; and the minister of the Church of England, £100; but even this small amount was not received from the quit-rents, and the governor was forced to use £3,000, raised by the House for the erection of public buildings, to pay the employees of the government. The progress of the colony was very slow; there was little or no emigration, after the first excitement had worn off; and in 1779 out of sixty-nine townships into which the island had been divided, efforts towards settlement had only been made in about a dozen, and even in these the colonization was only partial. One reason for the lack of emigration was the bigotry of the Church of England, and the exclusion of Roman Catholics from settlement on the island. In 1775, Governor Patterson went to England; and the proprietors presented a memorial to the colonial secretary praying that the civil establishment of the island should be provided for by an annual grant by Parliament, as was done in other colonies. By a minute of Council, passed on 7th August, 1776, it was ordered that legal proceedings should be taken to recover the arrears of quit-rents; but no immediate action was taken by the governor, who was anxious to propitiate the proprietors.

5.—The island of St. John was made to feel the horrors of war shortly after the outbreak of the American revolution. In November, 1775, two American vessels, cruising in the gulf of the St. Lawrence for the purpose of trying to intercept English steamships on their way to Quebec, suddenly appeared in the harbor of Charlottetown, which was quite defenceless, and landing a body of sailors and marines pillaged the place of all that was valuable and carried off Hon. Mr. Callbeck, who was administering the government in the absence of Governor Patterson, and other officers, prisoners. General Washington then had his head-quarters at Cambridge, and as soon as he heard of the outrage he released the prisoners, restored the booty, and had the officers who commanded the expedition dismissed the service. The island suffered no more during the war, except that the privateers hovering about the gulf sometimes replenished their scanty provisions at the expense of the farmers' flocks and barn-yards; but the loss was more than compensated by the occasional visits of British men-of-war, one of which, the *Hunter*, being placed on the station, effectually protected the island. In 1778 four companies of militia, under Major Hierliky, were sent from New York to protect the island; and in October, 1779, the ship *Camilla*, with a regiment of Hessians on board, was forced by stress of weather to put into Charlottetown, and remained there until the following June. The town had not enough provisions to support them, but the deficiency was made up by the farmers. This visit was productive of good in the future, for many of the soldiers, pleased with the country, returned at the close of the war and settled there.

6.—In 1773 the Assembly had passed an act providing for the sale of allotments in the event of the quit-rents not being paid; but the law had never been enforced. On his return from England, in 1780, however, Governor Patterson decided to enforce the law, and, accordingly, legal proceedings were taken and a number of estates sold for little more than the taxes due. This led to great complaints against Patterson, who bought large quantities of the land himself, and ultimately led to his removal. The proprietors whose estates had been sold petitioned against the action of the governor, claiming that he had chosen an inopportune time while the country was at war, and few English capitalists could be found to invest in colonial property, in an island which might be alienated from the British crown by the next treaty of peace; that he had not followed due form of law, nor given sufficient notice in England of the intended sale; and that he had used his power and position for his personal advantage and acquired large tracts of the land for himself and his friends. This latter charge Patterson did not attempt to deny, for in a letter to Mr. Stuart—the agent of the prov-

The Island erected into a separate Province. Financial trouble.

Incidents during the war of American Independence.

Sale of lands to pay over-due quit-rents. Dissatisfaction of the proprietors.

ince in England—he says: “That the officers of the government have made purchases, is certain, and that I have made some myself is also as certain; but I should be glad to know who would be an officer of government if, by being such, he was deprived of his privileges as a citizen.” He denied the first charge of illegal procedure, however, and tried hard to defend his action, which appears to be just and legal; the proprietors would not comply with the conditions on which their grants had been made them, and either refused or neglected to pay the quit-rents which were absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the civil government. The law provided a remedy by the sale of the lands, and Governor Patterson merely applied the law, that was all, and he was quite right in doing so, but his subsequent conduct is not so easily justified. On the close of the war a great change took place in the value of land in the island, and those proprietors whose estates had been sold for taxes, began to be clamorous to have the sale set aside, and the lands returned to them on payment of the arrears of taxes and expenses of sale. Patterson strongly opposed this, and puts the case very clearly in a letter to Mr. Stuart, dated the 12th May, 1783; he says: “There is some idea, I find, of rescinding the purchases, and that government will order it: whoever has formed such an idea must have strange notions of government. Government may order me, and, if I have a mind to be laughed at, I may issue my orders to the purchasers; but can anyone believe they will be obeyed? Surely not; nor would I be an inhabitant of any country where such a power existed. My money may, with as much justice, be ordered out of my pocket, or the bread out of my mouth. A governor has just as much power to do the one as the other. I should like to know what opinion you would have of a country where the validity of public contracts depended on the will of the governor. The purchases were made in the very worst period of the war, when the property was very precarious indeed, and when no man in England would have given hardly a guinea for the whole island. It is now peace, and fortunately we still remain a part of the British empire. The lands are consequently esteemed more valuable, and the proprietors have become clamorous for their loss. Had the reverse taken place,—had the island been ceded to France,—let me ask what would have been the consequence? Why, the purchasers would have lost their money, and the proprietors would have been quiet, hugging themselves on their own better judgment. There can be no restoring of the lots which were sold. *There has not been a lot sold on which a single shilling has been expended by way of settlement, nor upon which there has been a settler placed;* so that those proprietors who have expended money in making settlements have no cause of complaint.”

7.—The influence of the proprietors at court was, however, too strong for the governor, and a resolution in

Council was passed on 1st May, 1784, voiding the sales made in 1781, and allowing the original proprietors to repossess themselves of their property on payment of the purchase money, interest, and charges incurred by the present proprietors, as well as the cost of any improvements which had been made. A bill based on this order in Council was framed and sent out in 1784, to Governor Patterson, to be submitted to the Assembly; but he had no idea of giving up the property he had purchased so easily, and neglected to present the bill to the House—which he knew was unfriendly to him and would immediately pass the bill. Under the pretense that the Home government was not fully acquainted with the facts regarding the land sale, the governor suppressed the bill sent out, only submitting it to the Council, who were pledged to secrecy. His object was to get the Assembly to pass an act approving the sale of 1781, before he was forced by the Home government to submit the rescinding act sent out; and, for this purpose, he dissolved the House—which he knew was inimical to his interests, and ordered a new election, but he was unfortunate in its result, for on the meeting of the new House, one of its first acts was to consider the conduct of the governor with regard to the sales of land, and an address to the King disapproving of his conduct was being framed, when the governor hastily interfered and dissolved Parliament again. The governor was favored at this second election by the support of the newly arrived United Empire Loyalists, many of whom had settled on the island at the close of the revolutionary war, and whose wants had been assiduously attended to by the governor, in the hope of future political support, nor was he mistaken. In March, 1795, he ordered another general election, and the result was the return of a House entirely subservient to his wishes, although Mr. Stewart assures us that this “was not accomplished without a severe struggle, much illegal conduct, and at an expense to the governor and his friends of nearly £2,000 sterling.” Nothing was said at the session of 1785 about the sales of 1781, but at the next session a bill was introduced, and passed, entitled, “An act to render good and valid in law all and every of the proceedings in the years one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, which in every respect related to or concerned the suing, seizing, condemning, or selling of the lots or townships hereinafter mentioned, or any part thereof.”

8.—This bill was disallowed by his majesty, and the proprietors in England urging on the colonial secretary that Governor Patterson did not intend to obey the orders of the Home office, that officer superseded Patterson, and ordered him to return to England to answer to certain charges made against him, Colonel Fanning being

The governor refuses to obey the orders of the Home Government with regard to restoring the lands sold in 1781.

Recall of Patterson and appointment of Lt.-Governor Fanning. A struggle for power.

instructed to take his place. The letter from the colonial secretary reached him in October, 1786, and at the same time he was peremptorily ordered to submit to the Assembly the bill sent out in 1784, rescinding the sales of 1781, another copy of which was forwarded. Patterson now saw the folly of longer withholding the bill, and submitted it to the Assembly, when it was read for the first time on 1st November, but, in accordance with the desire of the governor, the bill was shelved and a private bill passed in its place which provided for the restoration of the escheated lands, but on such onerous terms that no advantage could be derived by the original proprietors by taking advantage of it. Of course the proprietors would not submit to this, and on the matter being represented to the committee of the Privy Council, several members of the Council were dismissed. Lieutenant-Governor Fanning arrived at Nova Scotia early in November, 1786, to assume the reins of government, but, to his surprise found Patterson refused to give them up, pretending that the appointment was made only to fill the vacancy to be caused by his (Patterson's) temporary absence in England; and that as it was then too late for him to proceed to England that year, there was no vacancy, and would be none until the spring. The claims of the rival governors caused considerable excitement on the island during the winter, as each had his partisans, but no breach of the peace occurred, and Patterson was allowed by Fanning to remain in almost undisputed possession of the government until the spring, when, early in April, the latter issued a proclamation, embodying his appointment and calling on all loyal citizens to recognize his title as lieutenant-governor of the island. Patterson at once issued a counter proclamation to the effect that he was the only duly authorized representative of his majesty, and calling on all to pay no attention to the claims of the usurper. So matters remained at a dead-lock until the next month, when despatches from Lord Sydney settled the matter by curtly informing Patterson "his majesty has no further occasion for your services as lieutenant-governor of St. John," and instructing Fanning to assume the government of the island. Patterson never returned to the island. Deserted by his friends in England he had no chance of reinstatement; and being in straightened circumstances, his large and valuable possessions on the island were sold at a mere nominal value under the hard laws which he had himself caused to be passed. "But the question occurs," says Mr. Campbell, "what became of the escheated lands which were ordered to be restored to the original proprietors? After the proceedings already mentioned no determined effort to regain the property was made by the original holders, with regard to whose claims to restitution no doubt could now exist. The Assembly did, indeed, pass an act in 1792, by which the old proprietors were permitted to take possession of their property; but eleven

years having elapsed since the sales took place, and complications of an almost insuperable nature having in consequence ensued, the government deemed it inexpedient to disturb the present holders, more particularly as not a few of them had effected a compromise with the original grantees, which entitled them to permanent possession. Hence the act referred to was disallowed, and thus a subject which had for years agitated the community was permitted to remain in continued abeyance."

CHAPTER CVI.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—THE RECORD OF HALF A CENTURY.

1.—THE CENSUS. CURIOUS STATISTICS WITH REGARD TO NAMES.—2. CHANGING THE NAME OF THE ISLAND. SLOW PROGRESS IN SETTLEMENT.—3. THE INFLUENCE OF THE PROPRIETORY PARTY IN THE COLONIAL OFFICE. COMMUTATION OF THE QUIT-RENTS.—4. LARGE IMMIGRATION OF HIGHLANDERS. GOVERNMENT OF COLONEL DES BARRES.—5. TYRANNICAL CONDUCT OF GOVERNOR SMITH. THREE DISSOLUTIONS OF PARLIAMENT.—6. CHARGES MADE AGAINST THE GOVERNOR. HIS ATTEMPT TO ARREST MR. STEWART.—7. RECALL OF SMITH. APPOINTMENT OF COLONEL READY.—8. SATISFACTORY CONDITION OF THE ISLAND IN 1825.—9. PASSAGE OF THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION ACT. RECALL OF COLONEL READY.—10. STEAM COMMUNICATION WITH PICTOU. DEATH OF GOVERNOR YOUNG.—11. ATTEMPT TO SETTLE THE LAND QUESTION ON AN EQUITABLE BASIS.—

1.—The government of Colonel Fanning extended over a period of eighteen years, but the first ten or twelve years was not marked by any events of special importance. The original proprietors still continuing to hold their lands and not pay their quit-rents, there was little or no immigration, and the island remained in almost a stagnant condition. A census was taken in 1798, which showed that after thirty-five years' possession by the British the population only amounted to 4,372, of whom 2,335 were males, and 2,037 females. There were 1,217 males under 16 years of age, 1,014 between 16 and 60, and 104 over 60; of the females 1,092 were under 16, 867 between 16 and 60, and 78 over 60. There were 748 heads of families, and amongst these only 25 are returned as single men, and 11 of these were over 60 years of age. Fifty families consisted of only two persons each, five of which

The Census. Curious statistics with regard to names.

were widows with one son each; sixty-two families consisted of ten or more persons, the remaining six hundred and eleven families containing from three to nine persons each. The largest family on the island was that of Lieutenant-Governor Fanning, consisting of eighteen persons, eight of whom were males and ten females. The names of these early settlers are a curious study, there being 487 different cognomens divided amongst the 748 families. Scotch names greatly preponderating; indeed one-third of the population were "Macs," for no less than 231 families, consisting of 701 males and 636 females, had the prefix Mc to their names, the McDonalds alone mustering 69 families, numbering 208 males and 198 females; nor do the McDonalds seem to have been all settled in one locality, but to have been pretty well spread over the island, as out of 49 districts from which returns are made the name McDonald appears in 21, and in only one instance—a widow and her daughter—does the family consist of less than three. English names are scarcer, and the Smith, Brown, Jones and Robinson families are very scantily represented; the former having only 3 families of 9 males and 10 females; the Browns 4 families of 8 males and 18 females; the Robinsons 2 families of 7 males and 7 females, while only one Jones—John Jones—is returned in the whole province, and his family consisted of 2 males and 3 females.

2.—It was during the administration of Colonel Fanning that the name of the island was changed from St. John to Prince Edward. The inconvenience of the former name was felt at an early date, on account of there being the town and other places of the same name, and an effort was made in 1780 to change it to New Ireland, and a bill was introduced and passed in the House of Assembly adopting that name as the future one of the island; but the action was taken without the knowledge or consent of the imperial government, and the bill was disallowed, after which no further effort was made to change the name for nearly twenty years. During his residence at Halifax as commander-in-chief of the forces in North America, the Duke of Kent ordered new barracks to be built at Charlottetown, and also had the harbor fortified; and the inhabitants felt so grateful to him for his care and consideration of them, that, although he never visited the island, the House, at its session of 1798, passed an act changing the name of the island to Prince Edward, in compliment to him; and the act having received the royal assent on 1st February, 1799, the province was thenceforward known as that of Prince Edward Island. The settling of the island went on very slowly under the proprietary system, and in 1797, when the House of Assembly took the matter in hand, and made a careful examination into the state of the province, very little had been done. In this year the Assembly

Changing the name of the Island. Slow progress in settlement.

presented a petition to the king praying that the proprietors should be compelled to fulfil the conditions on which the lands had been granted, or the lands themselves escheated to the crown and redistributed. This petition was based on a careful examination of the condition of the sixty-nine townships into which the island had been divided; by which examination it was shown that in twenty-three townships, which were named, and which contained over four hundred and fifty thousand acres, there was not a single resident settler; that in twelve other townships there were only thirty-six families, numbering about two hundred persons, who thus constituted the entire population of nearly one-half the area of the whole island. The opinion of the House was that these lands were only held on speculation, that the proprietors were taking advantage of the leniency of the government, and that the lands should be given to actual settlers. The petition was favorably received by the Duke of Portland, then colonial secretary, and Governor Fanning instructed that the evils complained of should be removed. In opening the session of 1802, Governor Fanning stated that the imperial government had favorably considered the petition, and advised the House to be ready to adopt, when necessary, the legal means to reinvest his majesty with the lands which could be escheated. The House inquired for further information, and not receiving it, passed "an act for effectually reinvesting in his majesty, his heirs and successors, all such lands as are, or may be, liable to forfeiture within this island," which, greatly to the astonishment of the House, was disallowed by the Home government.

3.—The cause of this disallowance is not hard to find. It must be remembered that in the time of which we are writing the provinces were all really governed by orders from the colonial office, and the party most powerful in Downing Street controlled the affairs of the provinces no matter what the local government might desire; now the proprietary party was still very strong with the Home office, and, of course, used its influence against a redistribution of the land, for both the resident and non-resident proprietors were opposed to any change. The non-resident proprietors only held their lands on speculation; it had cost them nothing, and they did not intend that it should, for they paid no quit-rent, made no improvement, promoted no immigration, and were only waiting until their island was sufficiently settled by others to make their land valuable, when they proposed turning it into money, and closing their connection with the island. Those proprietors who had improved their property were also opposed to any change; for they argued—with considerable judgment—that if the lands now unoccupied were escheated to the crown and redistributed, a number of the settlers, who were now their tenants, would desire to become proprietors, and so leave their lands unoccupied.

The influence of the proprietary party in the colonial office. Commutation of the quit-rents.

Both parties, therefore, brought their influence to bear on the Home office, and the result was the disallowance of the bill. The Assembly was justly incensed at such disregard for the best interests of the island, and drew up a strong remonstrance which was sent to the agents of the colony in London for presentation; addresses were also forwarded, through Governor Fanning, to the colonial secretary and the president of the committee of the Privy Council for trade and plantations; but the influence of the proprietors was so great that not only was no attention paid to the complaints of the Assembly by Lord Castlereagh, then colonial secretary, but a composition was also made with regard to the overdue quit-rents, which now amounted to about £60,000 sterling, the amount due on some townships being more than it was calculated they would sell for. The commutation was divided into four classes, and the agreement was that the payment of quit-rents for a certain number of years should be taken in lieu of the thirty-two years now due. Those proprietors who had on their lands the required number of settlers as agreed for under the original grant, were released from all past quit-rents by paying for five years, and a proportionate deduction was made for the other classes, who had made partial settlements and who had made none.

4.—This commutation had a good effect, for although a large number of the proprietors still refused to pay even the small amount demanded, still a great many thought this a good time to sell and realize what they could on the land, and for the next four years a brisk business was done in sales, about one-third of the whole island changing proprietors in that time, many of the purchasers being determined to actually colonize and develop the resources of the country. Foremost amongst these new proprietors was the Earl of Selkirk, who had large possessions on the North and South of Point Prim. This had been the site of an old French settlement which had been abandoned on the cession of the island to Great Britain, and had become partially grown over with young timber. In 1803 the earl began to remove a number of Highlanders to his island property, about eight hundred coming that year, and the number being increased from time to time until about four thousand in all settled on the fertile soil, which, under this good management soon began to yield plentiful harvests. This same Earl of Selkirk afterwards formed a settlement at the Red River; of which we shall speak more fully in our chapters on the North West Territory. Colonel Fanning resigned the lieutenant-governorship in 1804, and was succeeded by Des Barres, who arrived in July, 1805. Colonel Des Barres was an old man who had been the first governor of Cape Breton when it was made a separate colony, in 1784, and his administration was not marked by any remarkable events, beyond the growing dissatisfaction of

Large immigration of Highlanders. Government of Colonel Des Barres.

the Assembly at the conduct of the Home government, in again disallowing the act passed for the escheating of lands which the proprietors had neglected to settle and improve as required of them by the original grant. War with the United States was declared during his administration, but the tide of conflict did not turn towards the island.

5.—Colonel DesBarres was succeeded in 1813 by Mr. Charles Douglas Smith, a brother of Sir Sydney Smith, who soon changed the character of the government of the island by turning it into a despotism, of which he was the autocrat, and very nearly drove the islanders into

Tyrannical conduct of Governor Smith. Three dissolutions of Parliament.

open rebellion by his illegal and tyrannical conduct. The Assembly met in November, 1813, and was rather cavalierly treated by the governor, who seemed to think such a Legislative body unnecessary, and after prorogation in January, 1814, did not summon the House to meet again until 1817, when the House proceeding to inquire into the state of the province, it was promptly dissolved by the dictatorial governor, who ordered a general election in 1818. The new House also endeavored to inquire into the state of the province, and was at once dissolved, another being elected in 1820, but was not called together; and so, with the exception of the session of 1813, the island was virtually left without a Parliament and in the absolute power of one tyrant for eleven years. The governor's tyranny commenced on the vexed subject of quit-rents—"the root of all evil," we might almost say, at that time in the island. A proclamation was issued in October, 1816, setting forth that the king had resolved to make certain concessions to the proprietors, to remit a portion of the quit-rents, and to fix a reduced scale for them in future. Nothing more was done in the matter until January, 1818, when the governor suddenly ordered the acting receiver-general to collect at once all arrears of quit-rents from June, 1816, to December, 1818, at the old rates. The summary proceedings in collecting these taxes caused great distress and inconvenience to the people, and, on the case being properly represented to the Home government, the action of the governor was disapproved, further proceedings stopped, and a refund ordered of all collected in excess of the rate of two shillings for every hundred acres; it was also announced that in future the collection of the quit-rents would be peremptorily insisted on, but over three years passed away and no action was taken; and the general impression was that the government would not enforce the tax again, especially as it had been abandoned in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In June, 1822, a notice was posted up in the office of the receiver-general, Charlottetown, that the office would be open from ten to four during the first fifteen days of July to receive quit-rents; but no attention was paid to it by the few who saw it, and the great bulk of the people never saw or

heard anything at all about it. Nothing further was done until December, when another notice was put up that quit-rents must be paid by the fourteenth of January, 1823, but no steps were taken to inform the people that proceedings would be instituted against them if the tax was not paid, and, indeed, not one person in a hundred knew that any demand had been made. Immediately on the expiry of the time given in the notice, summary proceedings were taken to force payment. Seizure was made of the property of two of the leading settlers in townships thirty-six and thirty-seven; and shortly after a regular descent was made on the eastern district of King's County, which was thickly settled, principally by Highlanders who did not understand a word of English, and great distress was caused. The tax-gatherers demanded immediate payment, or a note at ten days, in default of which an auction sale of all goods and chattels was threatened. The poor Highlanders did not know what to do, but mostly gave their notes, and then hurried up to Charlottetown to sell their winter stock of produce to pay the notes, in some instances being actually driven up like sheep by the tax-gatherer. This long journey of fifty or sixty miles in the depth of winter caused great distress; and the sudden influx of so much produce into Charlottetown depressed prices a great deal so that many of the farmers were almost ruined by the sacrifice of their crops to pay their notes.

6.—Public indignation was now thoroughly aroused against the governor, and the people determined to hold public meetings for the purpose of preparing a petition to the king praying for his removal, they being unable to do so through their representatives, as the governor would not call a meeting of parliament. Forty leading settlers signed a formal requisition to the sheriff, Mr. John McGregor, calling on him to convene a public meeting in each of the three counties into which the island was divided, in order that the people may consult together on the state of the province, they having been deprived of a Parliament for three years. The sheriff could not refuse this very just and constitutional demand, and appointed the first meeting to be held at Charlottetown on 6th March, and subsequent meetings at St. Peter's and Princetown, a course of action highly displeasing to the despotic governor, who thought the people had no right to complain about him, and he dismissed the sheriff and appointed a Mr. Townshend in his place. The charges against the governor as formulated in the petition to the king adopted at the three public meetings held, were numerous and serious. He was charged with utter ignorance of the wants, condition, or requirements of the country, inasmuch as, although he had been ten years on the island, he had never quitted Charlottetown but once, and then only for a drive of eighteen miles into the country; with illegally constituting a court of escheat in 1818; with insulting the

assembly by refusing to meet it, and by summarily dismissing it under particularly aggravating circumstances;* with screening the chief-justice of the island from thirteen serious charges made against him; of nepotism, by appointing his son-in-law, Lieutenant Lane, to the council, a position to which he had no right or title, and of having, as chancellor of the escheat court, permitted his son-in-law Lane, whom he had appointed registrar and master, to make very heavy additions to the fees. This latter charge was made a pretext by the governor for a charge of gross libel and contempt of the Court of Chancery by the members of the Queen's County committee who drew up the petition to the king, and warrants were issued for the arrest of the members; the main object of the governor, however being the arrest of Mr. Stewart, who had been appointed to present the petitions in England, and who had them in his possession. In this the governor was foiled by the prompt escape of Mr. Stewart to Nova Scotia, and he revenged himself on the other members of the committee by imposing heavy fines on them. Had Mr. Stewart been arrested and the petitions seized and destroyed, as the governor intended, the result would, probably, have been a revolution on the island, for the people were terribly excited, and had been provoked almost past endurance by Smith's arbitrary conduct.

7.—The first newspaper published in Prince Edward Island was the *Prince Edward Island Register*, which was printed by Mr. James D. Haszard, and made its appearance on 26th July, 1823, Recall of Smith. Appointment of Colonel Ready. Mr. Haszard published the particulars given above, and for so doing was summoned before the Court of Chancery, charged with libeling the court and its officers, but was let off with a reprimand on his giving the names of the parties from whom he received his information, — Messrs. Stewart, McGregor, Mahey, Dockendorff, Owen and McDonald. The governor made quite a pompous speech to Mr. Haszard, saying: "I compassionate your youth and inexperience; did I not do so, I would lay you by the heels long enough for you to remember it. You have delivered your evidence fairly,

* In addition to this public insult he was accused of sending a message, on the 15th December, to the Assembly, requiring both Houses to adjourn to the 5th of January following; and before the business in which they were then occupied was finished, and when the Lower House was on the point of adjourning, in accordance with the said message, it was insulted by Mr. Carmichael, the lieutenant-governor's son-in-law and secretary, who, advancing within the bar, addressed the speaker loudly in these words: "Mr. Speaker, if you sit in that chair one minute longer, this House will be immediately dissolved," at the same time shaking his fist at the speaker; and while the House was engaged in considering the means of punishing this insult, the lieutenant-governor sent for the speaker, and holding up his watch to him, said he would allow the House three minutes, before the expiration of which, if it did not adjourn, he would resort to an immediate dissolution; and this extraordinary conduct was soon after followed by prorogation of the Legislature, in consequence of the House having committed to jail the lieutenant-governor's son for breaking the windows of the apartment in which the House was then sitting.—Campbell's *History of Prince Edward Island*.

plainly, clearly, and as became a man, but I caution you, when you publish anything again, keep clear, sir, of a chancellor ! Beware, sir, of a chancellor ! ” This solemn warning was not very long effective, however, for Mr. Stewart was exceedingly well received in England, the petitions taken into immediate consideration, and Smith was recalled, he being succeeded by Colonel Ready, who arrived on 21st October, 1824, accompanied by Mr. Stewart, and was most enthusiastically received by the inhabitants, who were heartily sick and tired of Smith and his tyranny, and welcomed any change as a relief, feeling quite confident it could not be for the worse. Charlottetown was brilliantly illuminated on the evening of the governor's arrival, and an address was presented to him, part of which read ; “ we feel the utmost confidence that the harmony that ought always to exist between the government and the people is perfectly established, and that your excellency will believe that loyalty, obedience to the laws, and a love of order is the character of the inhabitants of Charlottetown. We cannot omit on this occasion to express our unfeigned gratitude and thanks for the attention which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to pay to the interests of this colony, in confiding its government to your excellency's hands, and to add our most fervent wishes that your administration of it may be long and happy.” In justice to the islanders it must be said, that, although they were loud and demonstrative in their joy at the appointment of the new governor, entertained him at a public dinners and made most flattering speeches, they offered no insult to Smith, and when he left for England he was even presented with a farewell address by a few officeholders whom he had favored during his administration.

8.—No Parliament had met since 1820, and one of Ready's first acts was to order a general election, which took place late in the fall, and the new House met in January, 1825, when Mr. John Stewart was elected Speaker. The

Satisfactory condition of the island in 1825.

Legislature quickly busied itself with passing several important bills which were greatly needed ; an act to improve the educational department was passed, also others regulating the fisheries, juries, jurisdiction of justices of the peace, and one authorizing the governor to appoint commissioners to issue £5,000 sterling of treasury notes, and to increase the revenue by taxation. The business of the House was promptly and amicably transacted, and the same despatch and harmony characterized a second session in October. At this latter session a petition was presented from the Roman Catholics praying for the removal of their political disabilities, but, being received late in the session, it was not then considered. After the close of the session Governor Ready visited England on private business, and the Hon. George Wright acted as administrator during his absence. This year the mode of paying the custom house officials was

changed, as it was in the other provinces, and instead of collecting fees they were given fixed salaries. The island was now in a quiet, happy and prosperous state ; the population had increased to about twenty-three thousand ; agriculture was flourishing, and trade and commerce steadily growing. During the year eighteen vessels arrived from Great Britain, and one hundred and twenty-eight from British colonies. The imports were valued at £85,337, and the exports at £95,426. The islanders seem to have been far from total abstainers, for amongst the imports we find 4,000 gallons of rum ; 2,500 gallons of brandy, and 3,000 gallons of gin, which would give an average of over two and a half gallons of spirits to every man, woman and child on the island.

9.—The governor on his return from England, met Parliament in March, 1837, and congratulated the province on the great internal improvements which had taken place, a road having been completed to Princetown, and lines surveyed for extending it to Cascumpec and the North Cape. He also advocated the formation of an agricultural society, a matter which was then attracting a good deal of attention in the other provinces. The most important bills passed were one providing for taking a census of the island, and another authorizing the formation of a fire company in Charlottetown. The petition of the Roman Catholics for the removal of their political disabilities came up this session, and after considerable discussion the resolution to remove these disabilities was lost on the casting vote of the speaker, Mr. Stewart, who gave as his reason not any objection to granting Roman Catholics the same right to vote as Protestants, but, that as the question had not been decided in England he did not feel authorized to admit the principle in the province. During this session (1827) the Council and Assembly got at variance about appropriations, and at the following session the Council rejected the appropriation bill, which caused great inconvenience to the governor, who, on opening the session of 1829, recommended a conciliatory policy on both sides, and so far succeeded in making peace, that business communications were resumed between the two Houses, and the supply bill passed. At this session a bill was passed providing for the establishment of a non-sectarian college at Charlottetown. The session of 1830 was marked by the passage of an act removing all political disabilities from Roman Catholics, and all places of trust, honor, or profit open to other denominations, were henceforward open to members of that faith. The years 1829–31 saw quite a stream of immigration turn towards the colony, nearly two thousand fresh arrivals taking place in that time, and a great impetus being given to agriculture, which was now also being benefited by the operations of the agricultural society, and the establishment of branches of it in different parts of the island. Colonel Ready was

Passage of the Catholic emancipation act. Recall of Colonel Ready.

recalled in 1831, and his departure was greatly regretted by the people; he had come to them when they were writhing under most oppressive tyranny, and by his wise, moderate and enlightened government he had done much to improve the island, and win the love of the inhabitants during his seven years of office.

10.—Colonel Ready was succeeded by Colonel A. W. Young, who arrived in September, 1831, and met Parliament in January, 1832. Several useful acts were passed at this session, amongst them one granting a subsidy of £300 a year for a bi-weekly mail service between Charlottetown and Pictou, N. S., a contract being made with the steamer *Pocahontas*. An act was also passed changing the term of the Assembly from seven to four years. A census was taken in 1833 which showed the population to be thirty-two thousand, an increase of forty per cent on the return of 1827. Colonel Young visited England in the summer of 1834, when he was knighted. Towards the close of 1834, a general election was held, and Parliament met in January, 1835, when the Council and Assembly immediately got at variance on the appropriation bill, and no supplies were passed. Shortly after prorogation, however, the governor got both parties to agree to pass the revenue and appropriation bills separately, and an extra session was called in April at which the supply bills were passed. The governor opened the extra session, but was too ill to close it, and his malady grew worse until the first of December, 1835, when he died, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, forty-one of which had been devoted to the service of his country in various parts of the world, and wherever he was he distinguished himself by courage, prudence and urbanity, gaining for himself friends and admirers in all the countries in which he served.

11.—The Honorable George Wright was sworn in as administrator on the death of Sir Aretus W. Young, and conducted the affairs of the province until the arrival of Colonel Sir John Harvey, in February, 1836. Sir John only remained in office one year, when he was transferred to New Brunswick, and succeeded by Sir Charles Augustus FitzRoy, who arrived in June, 1837. He was not long in finding out what was the real cause of the farmers' troubles, the proprietorship of nearly the whole island by absentees who drained the actual settler of his last farthing, as soon as his farm began to be remunerative, or ejected him if he failed to pay. The governor issued a circular to the proprietors, advising them to sell the land to the tenants under some system of payment by installment, or allow something to them for improvements. The House of Assembly passed a law providing for an assessment on all lands in the province, which the proprietors opposed. A report was prepared by Messrs. T. H. Haviland, R. Hodgson and other mem-

bers of the assembly, which showed that the local expenditure of the government for the last twelve years had been £107,643 of which £28,506 had been expended on roads and bridges, to the great advantage of the property of the proprietors; £13,556 on public buildings and wharves; and £66,562 for other local purposes. And of these large sums, the whole amount contributed by the proprietors of the soil had been only £7,413, leaving the balance of £100,000 to be borne by the resident consumers of dutiable articles. Lord Durham wrote a long letter favoring the true interests of the island;* and at last the enactment received the royal sanction, notwithstanding the importunity of the circle who tried to regulate the land question in London. This showed that, at last, the influence of the proprietors in the colonial office was being broken, and was an augury of good for the island. A mechanic's institute was established in

* We give the following extract from Lord Durham's letter to Lord Glenelg, dated Quebec, 8th October, 1836, which very clearly gives that statesman's views on the land question in Prince Edward Island. "My Lord,—I have had the honor of receiving your despatch of the fifth of October, whereby you desire that I will express to you my judgment on the whole subject of escheat in the island of Prince Edward. After perusing the voluminous documents with your lordships despatch, I do not feel that it is in my power to add anything to the very full information on the subject which these documents comprise. The information before us is now so ample that upon no matter of fact can I entertain a doubt. Nearly the whole island was alienated in one day by the crown, in very large grants, chiefly to absentees, and upon conditions of settlement which have been wholly disregarded. The extreme improvidence—I might say the reckless profusion—which dictated these grants is obvious: the total neglect of the government as to enforcing the conditions of the grants is not less so. The great bulk of the island is still held by absentees, who hold it as a sort of reversionary interest which requires no present attention, but may become valuable some day or other through the growing want of the inhabitants. But, in the meantime, the inhabitants of the island are subjected to the greatest inconvenience—nay, the most serious injury—from the state of property in land. The absent proprietors neither improve the land themselves, nor will let others improve it. They retain the land and keep it in a state of wilderness. Your Lordship can scarcely conceive the degree of injury inflicted on a new settlement hemmed in by wilderness land, which has been placed out of the control of government, and is entirely neglected by its absent proprietors. This evil pervades British North America, and has been for many years past a subject of universal and bitter complaint. The same evil was felt in many of the States of the American Union, where, however, it has been remedied by taxation of a penal character,—taxation I mean, in the nature of a fine for the abatement of a nuisance. In Prince Edward Island this evil has attained its maximum. It has been long and loudly complained of, but without any effect. The people, their representative assembly, the legislative council, and the governor have cordially concurred in devising a remedy for it. All their efforts have proved in vain. Some influence—it cannot be that of equity or reason—has steadily counteracted the measures of the colonial legislature. I cannot imagine it is any other influence than that of the absentee proprietors resident in England; and in saying so I do but express the universal opinion of the colony. The only question, therefore, as it appears to me, is whether that influence shall prevail against the deliberate acts of the colonial legislature and the universal complaints of the suffering colonists. I can have no doubt on the subject. My decided opinion is, that the royal assent should no longer be withheld from the act of the colonial legislature. At the same time, I doubt whether this act will prove a sufficient remedy for the evil in question. It was but natural that the colonial legislature—who have found it impossible as yet to obtain any redress whatever—should hesitate to propose a sufficient one. Undeterred by any such consideration,—relying on the cordial co-operation of the government and parliament in the work of improving the state of the colonies—I had intended, before the receipt of your lordship's despatch, and still intend to suggest a measure which, while it provides a sufficient remedy for the evil suffered by the colonists, shall also prove advantageous to the absent proprietors by rendering their property more valuable."

Attempt to settle the land question on an equitable basis.

Charlottetown in 1838, mainly at the instance of the Honorable Charles Young, and a course of lectures inaugurated which were kept up for several years. Parliament met again early in 1839, but almost immediately after its assembly the governor received a despatch from the colonial secretary, requiring him to remodel the Council, and he at once prorogued the House. The change was the division of the Council, which had hitherto been both executive and elective, into two; an Executive Council of nine members, and a Legislative Council of twelve, exclusive of the chief-justice, who retired from it. The House met again in March, and Mr. W. Cooper, speaker of the House, was sent to London as a delegate on the land question. Three propositions were submitted by the Assembly; the establishment of a court of escheat; the resumption by the crown of the rights of the proprietors; and a heavy penal tax on wilderness lands; but Lord John Russell, the colonial secretary, declined to entertain either proposition at the moment; but recommended instead the adoption as a basis of settlement of terms proposed by the proprietors through their agent Mr. Young. Sir Charles FitzRoy, having been appointed to a governorship in the West Indies, was succeeded by Sir Henry Vere Huntley, who arrived in November, 1841.

CHAPTER CVII.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—FROM 1841 TO CONFEDERATION.

1. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR H. V. HUNTLEY. PETITION FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.—2. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR DONALD CAMPBELL. THE STRUGGLE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.—3. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR A. BANNERMAN. RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED.—4. A GLANCE AT THE ATTEMPTS MADE TO PROMOTE EDUCATION.—5. UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. LOSS OF THE *Fairy Queen*. SATISFACTORY FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE PROVINCE.—6. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR DOMINICK DALY. ESTABLISHMENT OF A NORMAL SCHOOL. CENSUS.—7. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY'S SUGGESTIONS ON THE LAND QUESTION.—8. THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL QUESTIONS THE LEGALITY OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AS THEN CONSTITUTED.—9. THE PROPOSAL OF THE PROPRIETORS WITH REFERENCE TO A COMMISSION ON THE LAND QUESTION.—10. APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION ON THE LAND QUESTION. VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.—11. CENSUS. THE BIBLE ADMITTED INTO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—12. REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS ON THE LAND QUESTION.—13. THE HOME GOVERNMENT DISSALLOWS THE BILLS OF THE ASSEMBLY, BASED ON THE AWARD OF THE COMMISSIONERS.—14. HOW THE LAND

QUESTION WAS FINALLY SETTLED.—15. CONFEDERATION. UNPOPULARITY OF THE MEASURE.—16. CONFEDERATION. EFFECT ON IT OF THE RAILWAY PROJECT.—17. CONFEDERATION. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND ADMITTED TO THE UNION.

1.—Sir Henry Vere Huntley filled his term of office (six years) without any very eventful occurrences taking place. The Honorable George Wright, senior member of Council, died in March, 1842. He had been nearly thirty years a member of that body, and had filled the office of administrator five times, during absences of the different governors. A serious disturbance occurred in Kings County, in March, 1843, caused by the legal ejection of a farmer named Haney, whose friends forcibly reinstated him after burning the proprietor's house. The corner-stone of the new colonial building was laid by the lieutenant-governor on 16th May, 1843, with appropriate ceremonies, and the building was occupied by the legislature for the first time, at the opening of the session in January, 1847. Some feeling against the governor was caused by his withdrawing his name as patron of the Agricultural Society, because the Assembly refused to enlarge and improve Government House for him in the manner he wished. The society very properly accepted the resignation without any other comment than that it could not see what the legislature's refusing to repair Government House had to do with the patronage of the Agricultural Society, and then requested H. R. H. Prince Albert to become its patron, a request which was immediately complied with. A sharp controversy arose in 1846 between the governor and Mr. Joseph Pope, who was speaker of the House and a member of the Executive Council. A proposal was made to increase the salary of the governor £500 per annum, which Mr. Pope opposed on the ground of economy; this annoyed the governor, and he dismissed Mr. Pope from the Executive Council on his own responsibility, and without consulting the Council, which would most undoubtedly have supported Mr. Pope. Mr. Gladstone, who was then colonial secretary, informed the governor that he had exceeded his powers, and that he must reinstate Mr. Pope until he had consulted the Council; Mr. Pope, however, saved him the trouble by resigning, after a correspondence in which he most decidedly had the best of it, and he repaid the governor his ill-will in the following year at the expiration of his term of office, by getting up a petition against his re-appointment for another term, which was favorably received by the colonial secretary, and the governor was succeeded by Sir Donald Campbell. A very serious election riot occurred between the Scotch and Irish factions in the district of Belfast, in February, 1847, in which four persons were killed and between eighty and a hundred

Administration of
Sir H. V. Huntley.
Petition for Re-
sponsible Govern-
ment.

wounded, some seriously. The currency of the island had for some years been in a very unsatisfactory state, and, in 1847, a committee of the House reported in favor of legislation giving the paper money issued by the government a fixed value in English gold or silver, and also advocated the establishment of a bank, where treasury notes could be exchanged for gold. During this session the House had the subject of responsible government under consideration, and passed a series of resolutions favoring its establishment, which were embodied in an address to the queen, and sent to the Home office.

2.—Sir H. V. Huntley's term of office having nearly expired, some of his friends, at his instance, got up a petition

Administration of
Sir Donald Campbell.
The struggle for Responsible Government.

that he should be re appointed for another six years; but Mr. Pope—as we have already stated—got up a counter-petition which was successful, and Sir H. V.

Huntley was recalled, his successor, Sir Donald Campbell, arriving at Charlottetown, in December, 1847, where he was received with more than the usual welcome, on account of his being a member of an ancient Highland family—a large proportion of the settlers on the island being Highlanders and their descendants. In 1848, another census was taken which showed that the population of the province had increased to 62,634. At the session of 1849, the Assembly passed an act fixing the elections for the same day throughout the island, it having been found that the system of having different days in different counties gave too great scope to the rowdy element, and caused many riots. During this session a reply was received from Earl Grey, colonial secretary, to the petition of the House in 1847, for the establishment of responsible government, in which he declined to accede to their prayer on the ground that the island had not sufficient population, and that the existing form of government afforded all the safeguards necessary for the peace and prosperity of the colony; he, however, thought that the time had come when the revenues of the island might be given up to the Assembly, provided it would grant a sufficient civil list, with the exception of the lieutenant-governor's salary, which the Home government offered to pay, and which was increased to £5,000 a year. The Assembly, in reply, accepted the offer, provided the revenues from permanent laws were granted in perpetuity, all claims for quit-rents abandoned, and responsible government conceded. The colonial secretary was willing to grant all asked, except responsible government; and in order to test the real feeling of the province on this point, Parliament was dissolved and a general election held. The new House met on 5th March, 1850, and was even more strongly in favor of responsible government, and in the address to the speech from the throne expressed a want of confidence in the Executive Council, which was further supplemented by a resolution that the House would grant no supplies until the Council was

remodelled—or, in other words, until the right of the Assembly to change the executive when it no longer had the confidence of the majority of the House had been conceded. The governor tried to temporize, and offered to give three seats in the Council to members of the Lower House; but this would not do; the House was fighting for a principle, and it meant to attain its ends by constitutional means; the proposition of the governor was therefore rejected, and another petition to the queen forwarded, praying for responsible government. The House was prorogued on 26th March, but, as no supplies had been voted, the governor summoned the members again on 25th April, in the hope that a month's vacation would have put them in a better humor. But he was mistaken; the House still held to the ground it had taken, and although it granted a few necessary supplies, passed no bills providing for roads bridges, &c., and refused to discuss any business until the question of responsible government was settled, so that the governor was forced to dismiss the House, which he did with a reprimand.

3.—Sir Donald Campbell forwarded a very able dispatch to the colonial secretary on the condition, resources and prospects of the island, which, added to the petitions of the Assembly, decided the colonial secretary to grant responsible government; but Sir Donald did not live to see it carried into execution, as he died in October, 1850, before the determination of the colonial secretary had been made known. The Honorable Ambrose Lane acted as administrator until the arrival of Sir Alexander Bannerman, who crossed the strait of Northumberland in an ice-boat and arrived at Charlottetown on 8th March, 1851. The Legislature was convened on 25th March, and the governor communicated the welcome intelligence that the Home government had yielded to the representations of the Assembly and consented to grant responsible government on condition that provision should be made for pensioning retiring officers; this the House willingly consented to, and the government was speedily reconstructed, with Hon. George Coles as president of the Council; Mr Charles Young attorney-general; Hon. Joseph Pope, treasurer, and Hon. James Warburton, colonial secretary. The House passed acts commuting the crown revenues, providing for the civil list and for inland posts, by which inland postage was reduced to twopence to all parts of the island, and a uniform rate of threepence to any part of British North America adopted. The only other occurrence of any moment in 1851 was a violent storm sweeping over the island on the 3d and 4th October, by which seventy-two fishing vessels were either driven ashore or seriously injured, and considerable damage was done to property on the island.

Administration of
Sir A. Bannerman.
Responsible Government established.

4.—The most important business of the session of 1852, was with regard to education, and we will take the

A glance at the attempts made to promote education.

the opportunity of summing up here what previous efforts had been made in this direction. It will be remembered that at the the original distribution of land in 1767, thirty acres were reserved in each township for a schoolmaster; but nothing was done in the way of education until 1821, when a national school was opened in Charlottetown, and soon afterwards a board of education was appointed for the island, and other schools opened, while in 1836 a central academy was established in Charlottetown. In the following year, 1837, the office of superintendent of schools was established, Mr. John McNeil being the first incumbent. Education seems to have been at a low ebb to judge from the superintendent's first report, as, for a population of about thirty-five thousand there were only fifty-one schools with a total attendance of fifteen hundred and thirty-three. In many of the districts the people were so poor that they could not afford to send their children to school, and, besides, wanted what little assistance they could give on the farm. On account of the small salaries given, and the precarious manner of receiving it, good schoolmasters were scarce, and some of rather doubtful character and of very limited attainments had been appointed for lack of better. In his report Mr. McNeil says: "I must also mention another practice which is too prevalent in the country, and which I conceive is exceedingly injurious to the respectability of the teacher in the eyes of his pupils, and, consequently, hurtful to his usefulness; that is, receiving his board by going about from house to house; in which case he is regarded, both by parents and children, as little better than a common menial." During the next five years there was considerable improvement, especially in the attendance, and by Mr. McNeil's report for 1842, we find that the number of schools had increased to one hundred and twenty-one, and the number of scholars to four thousand three hundred and fifty-six. In 1848 the office of general superintendent was abolished, and a superintendent for each county appointed. On opening the session of 1852, the lieutenant-governor—referring to his trip to various parts of the island during the summer—expressed his regret at the want of sufficient educational facilities; and a free school act was passed which provided for raising a school fund by additional taxation on land. This was the basis of the present system of the island, and gave a great impetus to education. In the following year the office of general superintendent for the whole island was re-established. Other educational changes we shall notice in their proper order in the course of events.

5.—During the session of 1853 an act establishing universal suffrage was passed, and its effect was shortly afterwards felt at the general election next year, at which the government party was defeated. Considerable agitation took place about this time amongst the tem-

Universal suffrage. Loss of the *Fairy Queen*. Satisfactory financial position of the province.

perance organizations with reference to obtaining legislation to prohibit the manufacture, importation, or sale of intoxicating liquors on the island, but nothing came of it. A very sad accident took place on the seventh of October, 1853, by which seven persons lost their lives. The steamer *Fairy Queen*, from Charlottetown to Pictou, became disabled in a heavy sea near Pictou Island, and was speedily broken up. The captain and most of the crew seized the only boat, and pulled away, leaving the unfortunate passengers to their fate. Fortunately the upper deck separated from the vessel and served as a raft, by which all the passengers save seven,—three men and four women—reached Mesigomish Island. Nothing of importance was done at the session of 1854, except that a vote of want of confidence in the government was passed, which led to a dissolution and the defeat of the government as already mentioned. The governor in opening the House referred in congratulatory terms to the flourishing condition of the province, which was almost free from debt, which at the beginning of 1850, had amounted to £28,000. In four years this had been reduced to £3,000, and would have been extinguished altogether but for an expenditure of about £3,000 for educational purposes. In these four years the revenue had risen from £22,000 to £35,000, although the duty on tea had been reduced. Sir Alexander Bannerman having been appointed governor of the Bahamas, was succeeded, on the twelfth of June, 1854, by Sir Dominick Daly, who had formerly been secretary of the province of Canada.

6.—Parliament met in September, 1854, when an act was passed giving effect to the Reciprocity Treaty lately entered into between Great Britain and the United States, by which grain, bread-stuffs and provisions were imported into the island duty free. The same year saw the departure of the imperial forces, on account of the outbreak of the Crimean war; and an attempt to make a partial settlement of the land question by purchasing some of the large estates from the original proprietors, the Worrell estate, consisting of eighty-one thousand three hundred : being so purchased this year for £24,100 sterling. At the session of 1855, the city of Charlottetown was incorporated, and a long felt want on the island was supplied by the establishment of the Bank of Prince Edward Island. The governor in proroguing the House deprecated the attempts at escheat which were from time to time made, and advocated a continuance of the policy of purchase by the government from the proprietors. He also returned the thanks of her majesty for the vote of £2,000 passed by the Assembly as a contribution towards the fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of those who fell in the Crimea. A bill was also passed at this session establishing a Normal school, which was opened the following year. The num-

Administration of Sir Dominick Daly. Establishment of a Normal school. Census.

ber of schools had now increased to two hundred and sixty-eight, with an attendance of eleven thousand, out of a population of seventy-one thousand, as shown by the census returns of 1855. Two acts were passed at this session with reference to the tenure of land, one imposing a duty on the rent-rolls of proprietors in certain townships, and another to secure compensation to tenants.

7.—At the opening of the session of 1856, the governor informed the House that both these acts had been disallowed by the Home government, a decision with which the House was none too well pleased, and it did not hesitate to state that the absentee proprietors had to much influence at the colonial office at home. Mr. Labouchere, the colonial secretary, in intimating the decision of the government in reference to the land acts of the last session, stated that whatever character might properly attach to the circumstances connected with the original grants, which had been often employed against the maintenance of the rights of the proprietors, they could not, with justice, be used to defeat the rights of the present owners, who had acquired their property by inheritance, by family settlement, or otherwise. Seeing, therefore, that the rights of the proprietors could not be sacrificed without manifest injustice, he felt it his duty steadily to resist, by all means in his power, measures similar in their character to those recently brought under the consideration of her majesty's government. He desired, at the same time, to assure the House of Assembly that it was with much regret that her majesty's advisers felt themselves constrained to oppose the wishes of the people of Prince Edward Island, and that it was his own wish to be spared the necessity of authoritative interference in regard to matters affecting the internal administration of their affairs. With regard to the main object which had been frequently proposed by a large portion of the inhabitants, namely, that some means might be provided by which a tenant holding under a lease could arrive at the position of a fee-simple proprietor, he was anxious to facilitate such a change, provided it could be effected without injustice to the proprietors. Two ways suggested themselves; first, the usual and natural one of purchase and sale between the tenant and the owner; and, secondly, that the government of the island should treat with such of the landowners as might be willing to sell, and that the state, thus becoming possessed of the fee-simple of such lands as might thus be sold, should be enabled to afford greater facilities for converting the tenants into freeholders. Such an arrangement could not probably be made without a loan, to be raised by the island government, the interest of which would be charged upon the revenues of the island. Mr. Labouchere intimated that the government would not be indisposed to take into consideration any plan of this kind which might

The Colonial Secretary's suggestions on the land question.

be submitted to them, showing in what way the interest of such loan could locally be provided for, and what arrangements would be proposed as to the manner of disposing of the lands of which the fee-simple was intended to be bought.*

8.—From the time of the opening of the Normal school, in 1856, the question as to the admission of the Bible into both the Central Academy and the Normal school had been raised, and during the session of 1858, petitions in favor of its use in these institutions were presented and referred to a committee, which wisely reported that the compulsory use of the Protestant Bible in mixed schools like the Academy and Normal school, would be most injudicious, and recommended that the petition be not granted. An amendment was moved by Hon. Mr. Palmer to the effect that the Bible may be used by scholars, with the consent of their parents and guardians. The amendment was lost by the casting vote of the speaker, and the report adopted. A general election took place in 1858, but when the House met it was found that parties were so evenly balanced that neither side could elect a speaker; a dissolution was therefore resorted to, and at the ensuing election the government was defeated, and resigned, a new ministry being formed under the leadership of the Honorable Edward Palmer and Honorable Colonel Gray. In opening the House the governor intimated that the Home government did not propose recommending to Parliament the guaranteeing of the £100,000 requested by the Assembly to purchase lands from the proprietors. On receipt of this unwelcome intelligence the House passed a resolution, introduced by Colonel Gray, that her majesty be requested to appoint some impartial person, not connected with the island in any way, to inquire into the existing difficulties between tenants and proprietors, and endeavor to suggest some plan for enabling the tenants to convert their leaseholds into freeholds; the means suggested being a large remission of overdue rents and the giving to every tenant having a long lease the option of purchasing his land at a certain price at any time that he may be able to do so. A serious question was raised between the Legislative Council and the Assembly at this session as to the composition of the Executive Council. The Legislative Council claimed that the principle of responsible government had not been carried out, inasmuch as persons were appointed to the departmental offices who were not members of either the Legislative Council or the House of Assembly, and that as all members of the Assembly were compelled by law to appeal to their constituents after appointment to office under the crown, the appointment of persons having no constituents to appeal to

The Legislative Council questions the legality of the Executive Council as then constituted.

* Campbell's *History of Prince Edward Island*.

was an evasion of the statute. The council also complained that not one of its members was in the Executive Council; nor did it contain a single Roman Catholic, although more than one third of the population of the island was of that faith. On these grounds the Legislative Council claimed that the Executive Council was illegally constituted, and presented an address to the queen praying that it be remodelled in accordance with the royal instructions sent when consent was given to the civil list bill, in 1857.

9.—The Assembly passed a counter-address, in which it was contended that the Executive Council was constituted in conformity with the instructions of 1857; and that the feeling of the island was opposed to the presence in the House of Assembly of salaried officers of the government, as was shown by the defeat at the polls, in 1857, of the commissioner of public lands, on his appeal to his constituents on accepting office, and of the same fate having befallen the attorney-general, and the treasurer and postmaster-general. Parliament was prorogued on the 19th of May, 1859, by Sir Dominick Daly, who then delivered his farewell address, he having been appointed to another government. Sir Dominick left in May, and Hon. Charles Young was sworn in as administrator until the arrival of Mr. George Dundas, M. P. for Linlithgowshire, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor and arrived in June. During the next month a visit was paid to the island by General Sir Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, who was most enthusiastically received. The Legislative Council and the Assembly not working harmoniously together—as shown by their petition and counter-petition on the constitution of the Executive Council—the governor, in compliance with instructions from the Home office, called five new members to the Board, thus making a majority in accord with the Assembly. During the session of 1860, the governor laid before the House a communication from the Duke of Newcastle, colonial secretary, on the subject of the land commission petitioned for at the last session of the Assembly. This letter enclosed one from Sir Samuel Cunard and other proprietors, addressed to the Duke, in which they said: “We have been furnished with a copy of a memorial, addressed to her majesty, from the House of Assembly of Prince Edward Island, on the questions which have arisen in connection with the original grants of land in that island, and the rights of proprietors in respect thereof. We observe that the Assembly have suggested that her majesty should appoint one or more commissioners to inquire into the relations of landlord and tenant in the island, and to negotiate with the proprietors of the township lands, for fixing a certain rate of price at which each tenant might have the option of purchasing his land; and also to negotiate with the proprie-

tors for a remission of the arrears of rent in such cases as the commissioners might deem reasonable; and proposing that the commissioners should report the result to her majesty. As large proprietors in this island, we beg to state that we shall acquiesce in any arrangement that may be practicable for the purpose of settling the various questions alluded to in the memorial of the House of Assembly; but we do not think that the appointment of commissioners in the manner proposed by them, would be the most desirable mode of procedure, as the labors of such commissioners would only terminate in a report, which would not be binding on any of the parties interested, we beg therefore, to suggest that, instead of the mode proposed by the Assembly, three commissioners or referees should be appointed,—one to be named by her majesty, one by the House of Assembly, and one by the proprietors of the land—and that these commissioners should have power to enter into all the inquiries that may be necessary, and to decide upon the different questions which may be brought before them, giving, of course, to the parties interested, an opportunity of being heard. We should propose that the expense of the commission should be paid by the three parties to the reference, that is to say, in equal thirds; and we feel assured that there would be no difficulty in securing the adherence of all the landed proprietors to a settlement on this footing. The precise mode of carrying it into execution, if adopted, would require consideration, and upon that subject we trust that your grace will lend your valuable assistance.”

10.—The colonial secretary endorsed the views of the proprietors and said; “If the consent of all the parties can be obtained to this proposal, I believe that it may offer the means of bringing these long-pending disputes to a termination. But it will be necessary, before going further into the matter, to be assured that the tenants will accept as binding the decision of the commissioners, or the majority of them; and, as far as possible, that the Legislature of the colony would concur in any measures which might be required to give validity to that decision. It would be very desirable, also, that any commissioner that might be named by the House of Assembly, on behalf of the tenants, should go into the inquiry unfettered by any conditions such as were proposed in the Assembly last year.” The proposal of the proprietors was well received by the House, and a motion was made on the thirteenth of April, by Hon. Mr. Gray, premier, that the proposal be accepted, and the Assembly agree to hold itself bound by the decision of the commissioners. Mr. Coles proposed, in amendment, that the matter should first be laid directly before the people by means of a general election; but his amendment was lost and Colonel Gray's motion carried by a vote of nineteen to nine; after which it was unanimously agreed that the Hon. Joseph

The proposal of the proprietors with reference to a Commission on the land question.

Appointment of a Commission on the land question. Visit of the Prince of Wales.

Howe, of Nova Scotia, should be the commissioner selected by the House on behalf of the tenants. On the sixteenth of June, 1860, the colonial secretary, in a despatch to Governor Dundas, expressed his satisfaction at the prompt action of the Assembly, and announced that the other two commissioners had been appointed and that a royal commission would speedily be forwarded. The commission consisted of Honorable Joseph Howe, representing the tenants; Mr. John William Ritchie, representing the proprietors, and the Honorable John Hamilton Gray, representing the crown. The commissioners met in the colonial building on the 5th of September, 1860, Mr. Gray presiding. Mr. Samuel Thomson, of Saint John, N. B., and Mr. Joseph Hensley, appeared as counsel for the tenants; and Messrs. R. G. Haliburton and Charles Palmer as counsel for the proprietors. Mr. Benjamin DesBrissay was appointed clerk, and after counsel had opened the case on both sides the hearing of evidence was commenced, and the commission afterwards visited various parts of the island, hearing evidence, and gathering all the information they could, their report not being made until the 18th of July, 1861, to which we shall refer further on. At the session of 1860, another practical step towards settling the land difficulty was taken by the Assembly by the purchase of the large estates of the Earl of Selkirk, containing upwards of sixty-two thousand acres, for the very moderate sum of £6,586, being at the rate of *fifty cents an acre*, thus enabling the government to convert the leasehold tenants into freeholders at a very reasonable rate. In the summer of this year the island was thrown into a fever of excitement by the announcement of the intended visit of the Prince of Wales, and the island stirred itself to fittingly commemorate the first visit of royalty to its shores. H. R. Highness arrived about noon on Thursday the 10th of August in H. M. S. *Hero*, and landed shortly after. He was received by the governor, and the mayor and city officers, by whom he was conducted to Government House, a detachment of the 62d regiment acting as guard of honor. Four arches were erected on the line of the procession, and the utmost enthusiasm was displayed all along the way. As Rochfort Square a large stand had been erected, and on it were four thousand Sunday-school children, who sang the national anthem as the prince approached. In the evening the town was illuminated, but the effect was somewhat spoiled by a steady down-pour of rain; the following day, however, was fine, and his royal highness held a levee in the afternoon, after which he inspected the volunteers—about five hundred strong, and visited the colonial building, where he was presented with addresses of welcome by the Executive Council and the corporation of the city. In the evening he attended a ball in the colonial building, and took his departure on Saturday morning, after leaving

the handsome contribution of £150 with the lieutenant-governor to be distributed in charity in the manner he thought most suitable.

11.—A great sensation was caused in the island by the intelligence that the United States steamer *San Jacinto* had stopped the British mail steamer *Trent*, on her way from Havana to St. Thomas, Census. The Bible admitted into the public schools. and taken from her the confederate agents Slidell and Mason, on 8th November, 1861; and the Prince Edward Islanders showed their loyalty by organizing a volunteer force of over one thousand men. Fortunately, however, war was avoided, and they were not needed. In this year, 1861, a general census was taken which showed the population to be eighty thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, including three hundred and fifteen Indians. The industries had greatly increased, there being eighty-nine fishing establishments which produced twenty-two thousand barrels of herrings, seven thousand barrels of mackerel, thirty-nine thousand quintals of cod-fish, and seventeen thousand gallons of fish oil. There were one hundred and forty-one grist mills, one hundred and seventy-six saw-mills, forty-six carding-mills, and fifty-five tanneries, manufacturing one hundred and forty-three thousand pounds of leather. Churches and schools had both increased very greatly, the former numbering one hundred and fifty-six, the latter three hundred and two. In this year the Legislature passed an act admitting the Bible into public schools; and also established the Prince of Wales College, in commemoration of the visit of his royal highness to the island. The Executive Council appointed commissioners to superintend the collection of the products and manufactures of the island for the international exhibition at London, in 1862, and the duty was so well performed that the island made a very praiseworthy exhibit. The intelligence of the death of Prince Albert, on the fourteenth December, 1861,—which reached the island early in January, 1862,—caused universal sorrow; forty-two minute guns were fired, all the flags were half-masted, the island went into general mourning, and an address of condolence to her majesty in her bereavement was adopted by the Assembly.

12.—Great anxiety was felt on the island to learn the result of the report of the royal commission on the land question, and, in reply to a request of Governor Dundas, the colonial secretary Report of the Commissioners on the land question. forwarded a copy of the report in a despatch dated the 7th of February, 1862. Want of space will not admit of our giving more than a brief *resumé* of the very able and exhaustive report of the commissioners. Their report was unanimous, and embraced the whole question of land tenure from the time of the division of the island in 1767, to the date of their report, 18th July, 1861. The commissioners stated that by making a tour of the island and holding courts in various parts, they

had been able to bring the tenants and proprietors face to face, to hear both sides of the question, and to endeavor to reconcile existing differences; they had examined into the whole subject of escheat, quit-rents, the claims of the old French settlers, the Indians and the loyalists. On the subject of escheat they were of opinion that there were no just grounds on which the estates could now be escheated on the plea that the original grantees had not fulfilled the terms on which the lands had been assigned them; this plea was valid with the original proprietors, and it would have been quite competent for the government to have escheated the estates when the compact was first broken; but after the lapse of nearly a century, the various compromises made by the government and the changes of proprietorship which had occurred in different generations, the commissioners were of opinion that it would be most unjust to the present proprietors to attempt to confiscate the lands now. With regard to the claims of the descendants of the old French settlers who had occupied the lands before the session of the island to Great Britain, the commissioners were of opinion that no relief could be afforded them; that their ancestors had been unfortunate in being on the losing side in a great national contest was their misfortune; but the commissioners did not see any means, especially after so long a lapse of time, of relieving them from the penalties which always attached to a state of war. With regard to the Indians the commissioners thought that their claim should be made good; they only claimed the small island of Lennox, and some grass lands around it, a location which they had held in undisputed possession for upwards of fifty years, and which they had greatly improved, having built a church and numerous houses; the commissioners thought, therefore, that they should not be disturbed. The case of the descendants of the loyalists was peculiar; their ancestors had been induced to come to the island at the close of the revolutionary war on the promise of receiving grants of lands from the proprietors, but the agreement had not been fulfilled, and the commissioners were of opinion that the local government should make free grants out of what lands they had, or should acquire from the proprietors, to such of the descendants of the loyalists as could prove that their ancestors had been induced to come to the island on promises which had not been fulfilled. As the best remedy for existing difficulties between landlord and tenant, the commissioners strongly recommended the land purchase act, which had been found to act beneficially in the cases of the Worrell and Selkirk estates. They advocated the acquirement by the local government, of the lands by direct purchase from the proprietors, and their re-allotment to the tenants, at rates as low as possible for the settled portions; while the wild and unsettled lands could be used by the government as inducements to attract new

immigration. For this purpose they recommended a guarantee by the imperial government of £100,000, and went into an elaborate statement of the revenue and resources of the island to show how interest at the rate of six per cent could be paid and a sufficient sinking fund established to extinguish the debt in twenty years; and the commissioners thought this could be done without increasing taxation, as the great impetus to trade, and the increase of immigration which would inevitably follow the permanent settlement of this vexatious question, and the release of all this land now so uselessly tied up, would vastly augment the revenue, which was already considerably in excess of the expenditure. The commissioners had no doubt but that the proprietors would be ready to sell when it was found that the Assembly had cash to pay; and the competition of the vendors would protect the purchaser from being forced to pay too much. As, however, there would be some who would not sell unless compelled to, the commissioners provided means to force them to part with their lands to tenants, exception being made in favor of those who held fifteen thousand acres or less, or who wished to retain various parcels of land which did not aggregate more than that quantity. Although the commissioners were of opinion that the original grants should not have been made, and that they could have been annulled for non-fulfilment of the terms on which they were made; still, from the frequent confirmation of the grants by the imperial government, the commissioners were of opinion that the titles must be held good, and the basis binding; at the same time they conceived that it was absolutely necessary for the interests of both the imperial and local governments, as well as for the general prosperity of the island, that these leaseholds should be converted into freeholds, so that the trouble, both to the Home and local governments with regard to this question may be settled once and forever. In cases, therefore, where the local government could not come to an amicable settlement with the proprietors, by purchase under the land act, the commissioners awarded that tenants who offered twenty years' purchase, in cash, to the proprietors, should receive a discount of ten per cent, and be entitled to demand a conveyance in fee-simple of the farms they occupied; the tenant being allowed the privilege of paying by installments if he preferred it, but the payments were not to be less than ten pounds at a time, nor extend over a period of more than ten years. Where farms were not considered worth twenty years' purchase, the tenant might offer what he considered the fair value, and in the event of its being refused the matter was to be submitted to arbitration; if the sum offered was increased by the arbitrators the tenant was to pay the sum awarded and the expenses of arbitration; if it was not increased, the proprietor was to bear the expense. With regard to arrears for rent, the commissioners awarded that all

rents should be released, except those that had accrued during the three years preceding the 1st of May, 1861. "The commissioners closed their report by expressing their conviction that, should the general principles propounded be accepted in the spirit by which they were animated, and followed by practical legislation, the colony would start forward with renewed energy, dating a new era from the year 1861. In such an event, the British government would have nobly atoned for any errors in its past policy, the legislation would no longer be distracted with efforts to close the courts upon proprietors, or to tamper with the currency of the island; the cry of tenant-rights would cease to disguise the want of practical statesmanship, or to over-awe the local administration; men who had hated and disturbed each other would be reconciled, and pursue their common interests in mutual co-operation; roads would be levelled, breakwaters built, the river-beds dredged, new fertilizers applied to a soil annually drained of its vitality, emigration would cease, and population attracted to the wild lands would enter upon their cultivation, unembarrassed by the causes which perplexed the early settlers. Weighed down by the burden of the investigation, the commissioners had sometimes felt doubtful of any beneficial results; but they now, at the close of their labors, indulged the hope that, if their suggestions were adopted, enfranchised and disenthralled from the poisoned garments that enfolded her, Prince Edward Island would yet become the Barbadoes of the St. Lawrence."

13.—The Assembly met immediately after the receipt of the Duke of Newcastle's despatch enclosing the report of the commissioners, and showed their willingness to abide by the decision of those gentlemen by at once passing a resolution, by a vote of twenty-three to six, pledging itself to introduce a measure to give the report effect; but the proprietors were by no means so willing to be bound by the report of the commissioners, and the colonial secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, intimated that the imperial Government would not be inclined to guarantee the loan of £100,000, although previous secretaries had favored the loan. On the fifth of April, 1862, the duke forwarded to Governor Dundas the draft of a bill proposed by the proprietors, the preamble of which stated that the Commissioners had exceeded their powers in proposing to submit the matter of the value of the lands to arbitration, and that such a course would lead to endless confusion and litigation. The local government at once adopted a minute in which they declared that they would adhere to the report of the commissioners; that the Assembly considered the imperial government pledged to accept that reward, and that it was not considered that the commissioners had in any way exceeded their powers, the wording of the commission

giving its members ample and unlimited power to adopt any equitable means of settlement. The minute denied that arbitration would lead to endless litigation, holding that one or two cases in each township would establish a standard of values which both parties would adopt without further trouble. The minute urged on the imperial government the amount of anxiety and annoyance, which had existed for over half a century, on this subject, and hoped that the two bills passed by the Assembly, giving effect to the report, would be sanctioned, so that the matter might be finally settled. The interest of the proprietors, however, was too great at the colonial office, and on the twenty-second of July, 1862, the Duke of Newcastle forwarded another despatch which entirely destroyed any hope of settlement. He stated that the main questions the commissioners were to settle were, at what rates tenants ought to be allowed to change their leaseholds to freeholds, and what amount of arrearage of rent should be remitted by the landlords; instead of doing this the commissioners had delegated their power to fix the amount to arbitrators to be hereafter appointed, a thing they had not the power to do; they had been appointed to make the award themselves, not to delegate their power to others. If the proprietors had been willing to accept the substitution of arbitrators for the award of the commissioners, the government would not have objected; but as the proprietors declined to do so the government was forced to admit the force of their argument that a person who has voluntarily submitted his case to the decision of one man, cannot, without his consent, be compelled to transfer it to the decision of another. The two bills passed by the Assembly were, therefore, disallowed, and the land question was as far from settlement as ever.

14.—A special session of Parliament for the consideration of the land question was convened for the 2d of December, 1862; but before it met Governor Dundas received a despatch from the colonial secretary informing him that a bill passed at the last session, changing the constitution of the island by making the Legislative Assembly elective, had received the royal assent. A dissolution was, therefore, necessary, and advantage was taken of the general election to test the opinion of the people on the award of the commissioners. Public opinion was found to be almost unanimously in favor of it, and a large majority of the House was elected favorable to adhering to the report. The new House met in March, 1863, when the governor announced the decision of the colonial secretary adverse to the report of the commissioners. A new ministry was formed with Mr. J. H. Gray as premier, and the first business transacted was the adoption of an address to her majesty setting forth the whole history of the appointment, proceedings and report of the commission, and praying her majesty to notify the

The Home government disallows the bills of the Assembly, based on the award of the commissioners.

How the land question was finally settled.

proprietors that, unless they could show cause before a proper tribunal why that report should be adhered to, she would give assent to the bills giving effect to the award. The Duke of Newcastle replied on the eleventh of July, 1863, that he did not know of any method by which the matter could be submitted to a court of justice; that he had submitted the case to the law officers of the crown, and they were of opinion that the commissioners had not fulfilled the duties they were appointed to perform, and that they had no power to delegate those duties to others. Still the Assembly hoped that the Home government might be induced to accept the suggestions of the commissioners as a basis of action, if they rejected the report itself, and appointed Messrs. Edward Palmer and W. H. Pope delegates to England to endeavor to obtain some equitable terms of settlement. The efforts of this delegation, however, were no more successful than previous efforts in the same direction; a communication was addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, who submitted it to Sir Samuel Cunard, as representative of the proprietors, who, in reply, advanced the novel and almost comical theory that the proprietors were the only parties who had suffered by the immense grants of land made them; that no individual on the island had been injured by these grants, but that on the contrary, the island had been greatly benefited, and that, therefore, no concessions should be made to the present tenants. Of course, the delegates could accomplish nothing; and the land question continued a source of agitation and annoyance until the entrance of the province into the Dominion of Canada, on first of July, 1873—of which we shall speak more fully in the next paragraph—when an agreement was made by which a loan of \$800,000 was guaranteed to the province to enable it to buy up the estates and reallocate them. In 1875 commissioners were appointed to determine the value of the estates whose sale, under provision of the act, was rendered compulsory. One commissioner was appointed by the governor-general, another by the lieutenant-governor, on behalf of the tenants, and the third by the proprietor whose property was to be expropriated. Thus the troublesome question was at last settled, and the injustice of a century ago removed, but only at an immense cost to the province for the benefit of the descendants of a set of adventurers who sat for years like incubi on the progress of the island and kept it in a perpetual state of disquiet and unrest.

15. The question of Confederation was not brought prominently before the Parliament or people of Prince Edward Island until the session of 1864, when the following resolution was adopted; "That his excellency the lieutenant-governor be authorized to appoint delegates—not to exceed five—to confer with delegates who may be appointed by the governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for the purpose of discussing the expediency

Confederation.
Unpopularity of
the measure.

of a union of these Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island under one government and legislature, the report of the said delegates to be laid before the Legislature of the colony before any action shall be taken in regard to the proposed question." The delegates appointed were Messrs. J. H. Gray, Edward Palmer, W. H. Pope, George Coles and A. A. Macdonald, and they met the delegates of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia at Charlottetown, on first September, 1864, the particulars of which meeting, and the subsequent convention at Quebec on tenth October, we have given in Chapter 102. The delegates, on their return to Prince Edward Island from the Quebec conference, found public opinion decidedly opposed to confederation. A large meeting was held in Charlottetown in February, 1865, at which Hon. W. H. Pope strongly advocated confederation, but he was ably opposed by the Honorable Mr. Coles, and Mr. David Laird now (1877) Governor of Keewatin;—and the sense of the meeting was decidedly against him. Other public meetings were held at which resolutions were passed antagonistic to confederation; so that by the time the Legislature met on twenty-eighth Feb., 1865, it was a foregone conclusion that the Quebec scheme would be defeated. A series of resolutions favoring Union with the other provinces was introduced by Honorable W. H. Pope on the twenty-eighth of March, and lost, an amendment declaring confederation injudicious being carried by the overbalancing vote of twenty-three to five. The subject was brought up again at the session of 1866, when the following strongly anti-confederate resolution was proposed by Honorable J. C. Pope: "That even a union of the continental provinces of British North America should have the effect of strengthening and binding more closely together these Provinces, or advancing their material interests, this House cannot admit that a federal union of the North America Provinces and Colonies, which would include Prince Edward Island, could ever be accomplished on terms that would prove advantageous to the interests and well-being of the people of this island, separated as it is, and must ever remain, from the neighboring provinces, by an immovable barrier of ice, for many months in the year; and this House deems it to be its sacred and imperative duty to declare and record its conviction, as it now does, that any Federal Union of the North American colonies that would embrace this island would be as hostile to the feelings and wishes, as it would be opposed to the best and most vital interests of its people." An effort was made to put off a vote until an appeal to the people could be had, but it was overruled, and Mr. Pope's resolution adopted by a vote of twenty-one to seven, and an address to the queen, based on the resolution, adopted and forwarded to England.

16. While the delegates from Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were in session in London in the

Confederation.
Effect on it of the
Railway project.

fall of 1866, the Hon. J. C. Pope visited England, and an informal offer was made him of a grant of \$800,000, as indemnity for the loss of territorial revenue, and for the purpose of buying out the proprietors, if the island would enter the confederation; but the offer was declined, and nothing more was heard of confederation until the autumn of 1869, when Sir John Young, afterwards Lord Lisgar, Governor-General of British North America, visited the island, when the subject was informally discussed with members of the local government. In December following a formal proposition was made from the Dominion ministry of terms on which the island would be admitted into the confederation. This was submitted to the Executive Council, who rejected the offer on the ground that sufficient inducement was not offered the island, and nothing more was heard of confederation for six years. But a new and powerful influence was now at work to induce the people to think more favorably of a union with the Upper Provinces. Prince Edward Island is remarkably destitute of stone or gravel, and it has always been very difficult to make or keep the roads in order. As trade and commerce increased with increasing population, so was this want more keenly felt, and it at length became evident that to keep pace with the rest of the world Prince Edward Island must have a railway as well as other places. On the third of April, 1871, the Honorable J. C. Pope introduced a resolution in the House of Assembly to the effect that, in view of the difficulty of obtaining stone or gravel to keep the roads in order, and the rapidly increasing trade of the island, it was necessary to have a railway. A bill was accordingly introduced authorizing the government to build a railroad from Georgetown to Cascumpec, touching at Summerside and Charlottetown, with branches to Souris and Tigdish, at a cost of not more than \$20,000 per mile, including equipment, provided the contractors would take bonds of the island in payment. The bill was "put through under whip and spur," and in two days after it was introduced, passed its final reading by a vote of eighteen to eleven. But the government soon found it had assumed an enterprise it was incompetent to conduct to a successful termination; it was easy enough to pass a bill to build a railroad, and to get it commenced, but it was very difficult to obtain the money to build it with, and when the government began to be distressed for means to carry out its great enterprise, it naturally looked to the Dominion, to see whether it was yet too late to be taken into its fold and helped to accomplish that which it was impossible to achieve alone.

17.—In January, 1873, the Honorable Mr. Haythorne introduced a minute in Council to the effect that if the Dominion would offer liberal terms, the government would recommend a dissolution of the House, so that the people

Confederation.
Prince Edward
Island admitted to
the union.

may have an opportunity of saying at the polls, whether they prefer to enter the Dominion, or submit to the extra taxation necessary to build the railroad. On the suggestion of the Privy Council of the Dominion, that a deputation be sent to Ottawa to confer on the subject, the Honorable Mr. Haythorne and the Honorable David Laird were so deputed, but were not authorized to do more than learn what terms could be obtained and report to the House. A general election was held in March, and the House met again on the 27th of April, when the governor sent down the papers referring to the proposed union, and expressed a hope that the House would not lose this opportunity of entering the union. On the 2d of May the committee to whom the matter had been referred, reported adversely, not considering that Prince Edward Island had been offered sufficiently good terms. The committee, however, recommended the appointment of a committee to proceed to Ottawa to endeavor to obtain better terms. Messrs. J. C. Pope, T. H. Haviland, and George W. Howland were appointed such committee, and proceeded to Ottawa, where they had an interview with the governor-general—Lord Dufferin—on the 7th of May. A committee of the Privy Council, consisting of Messrs. J. A. MacDonald, Samuel L. Tilley, Charles Tupper, and Hector Langevin, afterwards met the Prince Edward Island delegation, and on the 15th of May, an agreement was arrived at which was satisfactory to both parties. The terms were substantially as follows: On condition of Prince Edward Island giving up her revenues, the Dominion agreed to assume a debt equal to fifty dollars a head on the population of the island, which according to the census of 1871, was 94,021, thus making the debt Prince Edward Island was authorized to incur \$4,701,050. As the island had only a very small debt, it was to receive interest at the rate of five per cent on the difference between the amount of its debt and the amount authorized until the debt amounted to \$4,701,050. The Dominion government agreed to advance to the island \$800,000 for the purchase of the proprietors' estates, at five per cent interest, which interest was to be deducted from a yearly allowance of \$45,000 made to the province of the Dominion. For the support of the government and legislature of the province, the Dominion agreed to pay \$30,000, and an annual grant of eighty cents per head of the population as shown by the census of 1871, it being agreed that the next census was to be taken in 1881. The Dominion government also assumed the railway which was then being constructed, and agreed to pay the salaries of the lieutenant-governor, and judges of the Superior, District or County Courts; the expenses of the custom-house, post office, and fisheries department; and provide for the maintenance of the militia, light-houses, quarantine, marine hospitals, geological survey and penitentiary. The resolution accepting these terms as the basis of union

was introduced into the Assembly by Hon. J. C. Pope, and carried by a vote of twenty-seven to two, after which an address to her majesty was unanimously adopted praying for the admission of Prince Edward Island to the union; which prayer being granted, the province was admitted to the confederation on the 1st of July, 1873, that being the sixth anniversary of the formation of the Dominion. The following is a list of governors of Prince Edward Island from its erection into a province to confederation.

Walter Patterson, Esq.	1770
Gen. Edmund Fanning	1786
Col. J. F. W. DesBarres	1805
Chas. D. Smith	1813
Col. John Ready	1824
Hon. Geo. Wright, Admst.	1825 and 1835
Sir Aretus W. Young	1831
Sir John Harvey	1836
Sir C. A. Fitzroy	1837
Sir H. V. Huntley	1841
Sir Donald Campbell	1847
Sir Alex. Bannerman	1851
Sir Dominick Daly	1854
Geo. Dundas, Esq.	1859
Sir R. Hodgson	1868
W. C. F. Robinson	1870

CHAPTER CVIII.

PROVINCE OF CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF LORD SYDENHAM.

1.—PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

—2. THE CASE OF MCLEOD. LORD SYDENHAM'S SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—3. IMPORTANT ACTS PASSED AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF CANADA.—4. DEATH OF LORD SYDENHAM.

1.—The union of the province of Upper and Lower Canada was consummated by royal proclamation on 10th Feb-

Principal features of the new Constitution.

ruary, 1841, the offices of lieutenant-governor for each province being abolished, and the Hon. C. Poulett Thomson—now Baron Sydenham and Toronto—was appointed governor of the "Province of Canada." Writs for a general election were issued on the 13th February, returnable on 8th April, and the first Parliament of the Province of Canada met at Kingston on 13th June, 1841. The new constitution, as expressed in the Union Act, fully established the principle of responsible government; that is, a government controlled by the colonial ministers of the crown,

who were members of one of the branches of the Legislature, and held office only as long as they retained the confidence of the House, which means as long as the political party which they represented could command a majority in the Legislature. These ministers had to be re-elected by their constituents after appointment to office, so that the people could pass a direct vote of confidence, or want of confidence in their fitness for the position to which they had been appointed. Another great change in the constitution was that the entire control of the whole revenue was given up to the Assembly, so that the two great principles for which the Reform party had so long struggled were granted, and the main causes of disquiet and uneasiness removed; but there still remained many vexatious questions—the clergy revenues, feudal tenure, &c.—which were to cause much trouble and annoyance in the future.

2.—Previous to the calling together of the House, a new Executive Council had been appointed, consisting of Messrs. Sullivan, Dunn, Daly, Harrison, Ogden, Draper, Baldwin, and Day. Considerable excitement existed in both provinces—especially the upper one—at this time over the arrest and imprisonment in the United States of Alexander McLeod, who had been deputy sheriff of the Niagara district, and who was accused of being implicated in the destruction of the *Caroline*, in December, 1837, and war between the two countries was threatened; this was, however, averted by the release of McLeod and the subsequent apology by the British government for the destruction of the vessel. In his speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament, Lord Sydenham referred to McLeod's arrest, and assured the House that it was her majesty's intention to fully protect her Canadian subjects; he also recommended a reconstruction of the post office and public works departments, a judicious encouragement of immigration, the establishment of municipal councils and an expansion of the laws respecting education. The speech also asserted her majesty's determination to retain the British North American provinces intact as a part of the empire, and concluded with a prayer for the future prosperity of the newly re-united province.

3.—The union had not, however, extinguished the fires of party political strife, and it needed all the calm judgment and conciliatory policy of Lord Sydenham to partially reconcile party differences, and get his government into anything like good working order. The Conservative party was sore at the success of the Reform party at the polls, while the latter was rather disposed to propose too sweeping reforms at once; both parties were, however, partially held in check by the French party, which, acting together, held the balance of power in its own hands, and could support in power which ever party was most willing to

The case of McLeod. Lord Sydenham's speech from the Throne.

Important acts passed at the first session of the Parliament of Canada.

favor its views. Before the end of the session, Mr. Baldwin resigned from the ministry, on account of a difference of opinion with some of the other ministers, and joined the opposition, which subsequently caused a change of government. The House passed many useful bills at this session, and laid the foundation of some of the most important civil institutions, especially those relating to education, the currency and the municipal system. One very important step was the establishment of a Board of Public Works, with a cabinet minister at its head, to control and regulate all the public works of the province, which had hitherto been either entrusted to private companies, or under the supervision of different departments. The Welland Canal was transferred from the company which had vainly tried to operate it, and became a government work. The Board was also authorized to issue bonds for £1,500,000 sterling, under imperial guarantee, to consolidate the debt already incurred for public works, and to complete those under construction. The session was a long and important; but was terminated sadly on the death of Lord Sydenham, the House being prorogued on the 18th September by General Clitherow.

4.—Lord Sydenham had a fall from his house while out riding on the fourth September, breaking his leg; and his constitution being naturally weak and delicate, and much impaired by the hard work of the past two years, could not sustain the shock to the system, under which he gradually sank, and expired on the 19th of September. Although he had only administered the affairs of the province for two years, he had greatly endeared himself to the people, and the regret at his loss was deep and sincere. He had found the country split into factions, scarcely yet recovered from a state of open rebellion, and politics reduced to the most bitter personal squabbles; he had restored law and order; had effected a peaceful and satisfactory union of the two provinces; had done more to propitiate the French element, and to draw it into accord with the English-speaking population, than any governor since the days of Guy Carleton; he had elevated politics and opened new fields for provincial ambition by promoting public education, and encouraging the extension of public improvements, trade and commerce. His connection with Canada although short, was brilliant, and laid the foundation of much future good; and the people mourned that he was not permitted to see the completion of the good work he had commenced.

CHAPTER CIX.

PROVINCE OF CANADA.—GOVERNMENTS OF SIR CHARLES BAGOT AND LORDS METCALFE AND CATHCART.

1. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR CHARLES BAGOT. HIS DEATH.
- 2. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR CHARLES METCALFE.—
- HIS DISREGARD OF HIS MINISTERS.—3. RESIGNATION OF THE BALDWIN-LAFONTAINE MINISTRY ACCEPTED.
- 4. A GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS IN SMALL CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY. DEATH OF LORD METCALFE. LARGE FIRES AT QUEBEC.—5. ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CATHCART. CLAIM FOR LOSSES DURING THE REBELLION.

1.—A change had again taken place in the English Ministry; the Whigs had been defeated, and the Tories were once more in power, Lord Melbourne having given place to Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Stanley succeeding Lord John Russell as Colonial Secretary. This raised the hopes of the Tories in Canada, and they were still further elated by the appointment of Sir Charles Bagot, a strong Tory and great supporter of the Church of England, as governor-general in place of Lord Sydenham. But they were destined to be disappointed, for Lord Stanley determined to carry out the colonial policy of his predecessor, and Sir Charles Bagot, whatever his personal feeling might have been, fully carried out the instruction of his chief to recognize the principles of responsible government. Finding that the existing ministry had not the confidence of the House, he caused several changes, calling Messrs. Baldwin, Aylwin, Hincks, Lafontaine and Morin to his counsels. Parliament met on the 8th September, and after a short but busy season was prorogued on 22d October. Thirty acts were passed at this session, amongst them one to make the law uniform with reference to the vacation of seats by members of the Assembly accepting office, and another providing £83,103 for the expenses of the civil government for the current year, and £27,777 for the first three months of 1843, detailed accounts of the expenditure of both amounts to be placed before the next session of Parliament fifteen days after it met. The health of Sir Charles Bagot failing considerably, he requested, towards the end of the year, to be recalled, a request which was complied with, and his successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, sent out; but Sir Charles Bagot was too ill to be removed, and he died at Kingston on the 19th May, 1843.

2.—Sir Charles Metcalfe, who arrived at Kingston on 25th March, 1843, was essentially a self-made man. He was born in England, in 1785, and at the age of fifteen attained a clerkship in the East India Company's service, where, by

Administration of Sir Charles Bagot. His death.

Administration of Sir Charles Metcalfe. His disregard of his ministers.

natural ability and the display of great business capacity, he steadily rose to the highest positions, filling the office of acting governor of India for two years. In 1839 he was made governor of Jamaica, which position he filled for three years, but was forced to resign in 1842 on account of the appearance of a cancer in his face. On his return to England he underwent medical treatment under which he so much improved that he was able to accept the governorship of Canada, when Sir Charles Bagot asked to be recalled. The summer was uneventful, the only excitement being a little feeling of curiosity as to whether the governor would follow the policy of his predecessor, or whether he would show any predilection for the Tory party now "in the cold shades of opposition." Parliament met on the 28th September, and in his opening speech the governor gave no indication of his future policy, but it soon began to be apparent that he was not favorable to responsible government, holding that it was not applicable to a colony, as it was carried out in England. He also showed a little favor towards the Conservative party, of which Sir Allan McNab was now the recognized leader, and made two appointments from their ranks without consulting his ministry. Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine remonstrated with him, claiming that they were responsible for the acts of the government to the Legislature, and that if they were not consulted in the matter of appointments they would lose the confidence of the House for acts committed without their knowledge or consent, and about which they ought to be consulted.

3.—Sir Charles absolutely refused to be advised in any way by his ministers as to appointments, claiming that entirely as a royal prerogative with which the ministers had nothing to do; and finding that they could not conduct the government on the basis on which they had accepted office, that of a strictly responsible government, the ministers tendered their resignations in November. The resignations were not accepted until after the prorogation of Parliament on the ninth of December, when Sir Charles announced that while he recognized the right of the people to regulate the administration of the government, through their representatives, he utterly disclaimed their right to any interference with the appointment of executive officers, and he would not allow ministers to degrade the royal prerogative in order to retain the support of the Assembly. He now tried to form a Conservative ministry, but found this rather a difficult task, as the leaders knew they could not command the support of the Assembly, and only succeeded on the understanding that an appeal should be made to the country, Mr. Draper forming a ministry. Amongst the acts passed at the last session was one removing the seat of government to Montreal, which was carried into effect during the summer of 1844, and Monklands fitted up as the residence of the governor, to which he removed in June.

4.—The Reform press was loud in its protests against the action of the governor, and considerable political excitement was caused in the Maritime Provinces as well as in Canada, the action of Sir Charles being taken as an indication that the Tory administration then in power in Canada did not intend

A general election results in a small conservative majority. Death of Lord Metcalfe. Large fires at Quebec.

to recognize the principle of responsible government as fully applicable to the provinces; a conclusion which was partly justified in the fall by the elevation of Sir Charles to the peerage as Baron Metcalfe, an indication that the Home government approved of his conduct. After Mr. Draper had formed a cabinet the House was dissolved, and writs for a new election were issued in September, returnable on the tenth of November. The elections were mostly held in October and were keenly contested, but resulted in a slender majority for the conservatives, so that when Parliament met, on the twenty-eighth of November, at Montreal, they were able to elect Sir Allan McNab, speaker, by a majority of three votes. The debate on the address was a warm one, but the conservatives carried the day and increased their majority to six. The imperial Parliament this year extended a pardon to all those who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1837–8, with the exception of Mackenzie (who was not pardoned until 1850), and some of the late rebels were elected to seats in the first Parliament that met at Montreal. The cancer in Lord Metcalfe's face again gave him great trouble this year, and he asked to be recalled on account of ill-health. Although his administration had not been a popular one, he was personally highly esteemed for his kindly disposition and private liberality, and his death during the following year was greatly regretted by many. The year 1845 was marked by two very extensive fires in Quebec, occurring just one month from each other, the first being on the 28th May, the second on 28th June. Whole districts were swept away, many lives lost, and nearly twenty-five thousand persons rendered homeless by these vast conflagrations. Every effort was made to relieve the sufferers, temporary sheds were erected and help poured in from all quarters. Over £100,000 was collected in England for the sufferers, and nearly half as much in Canada, and before the close of summer many houses had been rebuilt and the city began to recover from its awful visitation.

5.—Lieutenant-General the Earl of Cathcart, commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America, administered the government after the departure of Lord Metcalfe, and was subsequently appointed governor-general. The brief administration of Lord Cathcart was marked by the introduction of a measure which gave much trouble three years after, and very nearly caused another rebellion and an attempt to annex

Administration of Lord Cathcart. Claims for losses during the rebellion.

Canada to the United States. As has been already stated, the French members held the balance of power in their hands and were quite willing to support either Conservatives or Reformers, provided they got what concessions they pleased to demand from the party they supported. During the session of 1845 Mr. Draper, the Conservative leader, had introduced a bill to indemnify those loyal inhabitants of Upper Canada for losses sustained during Mackenzie's mad attempt to disturb the Province; the French members at once took advantage of their position, and claimed that if any losses were paid in Upper Canada, the sufferers by the rebellion in Lower Canada must also be paid, and in order to get the support of the French members to keep the Conservative party in power, Mr. Draper promised that the losses should be paid. A bill was passed to indemnify sufferers in Upper Canada, and £40,000 voted for the purpose, to be paid from a special fund from tavern and other licenses. One of the last acts of Lord Metcalfe before leaving was to appoint, on 24th November, 1845, six commissioners to inquire into losses sustained by her majesty's loyal subjects in Lower Canada during the rebellion. This commission was confirmed by Lord Cathcart on his assuming office, and the commissioners reported to Parliament at the session of 1846. They reported that they had recognized two thousand one hundred and seventy-six claims, amounting in the aggregate to *two hundred and fifty-one thousand, nine hundred and sixty-five pounds*; but that they were of opinion that some of the claims were inadmissible and others grossly exaggerated, so that they thought £100,000 would be sufficient. Amongst the claims were £9,000 for interest, £2,000 for quartering troops, and £30,000 for imprisonment, loss of business, etc. This report caused great indignation amongst the British portion of the inhabitants, and Mr. Draper, with his very slender Conservative majority, did not like to take the risk of a defeat by attempting to pay so large a sum; he therefore satisfied the French party, for the present, by passing a bill granting about £10,000 to indemnify loyal sufferers by the rebellion, and suffered the larger claims to remain in abeyance. Another change in the British ministry occurred this year, the Liberal party, under the leadership of Lord John Russell, coming into power, and Lord Cathcart was superseded by Lord Elgin, who arrived at Montreal on 30th January, 1847.

CHAPTER CX.

PROVINCE OF CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF LORD ELGIN.

1. TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS FROM SHIP-FEVER OF THE IMMIGRANTS OF 1847.—2. SECOND FORMATION OF

THE BALDWIN-LAFONTAINE MINISTRY.—3. INTRODUCTION OF THE REBELLION LOSSES BILL.—4. STRONG FEELING AGAINST THE BILL. ANNEXATION ADVOCATED. THE BILL PASSED.—5. THE GOVERNOR ASSENTS TO THE REBELLION LOSSES BILL.—6. THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL HOOTED AND PELTED BY THE MOB.—7. BURNING OF THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS BY THE MOB.—8. HOUSES OF OBNOXIOUS MEMBERS ATTACKED BY THE MOB. LORD ELGIN'S RECALL DEMANDED.—9. FURTHER RIOTING BY THE MOB. THE GOVERNOR AGAIN ATTACKED.—10. REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL FROM MONTREAL. LORD ELGIN'S CONDUCT APPROVED BY THE HOME GOVERNMENT.—11. CANADA ENTERS ON HER POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL MANHOOD.—12. AGITATION ON THE CLERGY RESERVES QUESTION BY THE "CLEAR GRIT" PARTY.—13. LARGE FIRES IN MONTREAL. A DISCOURAGING PICTURE OF THE CITY.—14. RAILWAY PROJECTS. GOOD FEELING BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.—15. DOMESTIC PROGRESS OF THE PROVINCE.—16. TEN THOUSAND PERSONS RENDERED HOMELESS BY FIRE IN MONTREAL.—17. INCORPORATION OF THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY. THE MUNICIPAL LOAN FUND.—18. SATISFACTORY FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE.—19 THE GAVAZZI RIOTS. THEIR EFFECTS ON THE HINCKS GOVERNMENT.—20. CHARGES OF CORRUPT PRACTICES AGAINST MR. HINCKS.—21. SIGNING OF THE RECIPROCITY TREATY. DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.—22. DEFEAT OF THE HINCKS ADMINISTRATION.—23. FORMATION OF THE FIRST COALITION GOVERNMENT.—24. SECULARIZATION OF THE CLERGY RESERVES.—25. PASSAGE OF THE SEIGNORIAL TENURE BILL. RESIGNATION OF LORD ELGIN.

1.—The summer of 1847 was a memorable one for Canada. The failure of the potato crop in Ireland caused gaunt famine to stalk through the land, and the cry for help was heard and nobly responded to from all parts of the civilized world. Canada did her share in sending money and provisions for the destitute; but by far the greatest work she had to perform was to provide for thousands of emigrants who, driven from their homes by famine, flocked to her shores, bringing death and desolation with them, for fevers broke out on board the emigrant ships, and hundreds died on the passage while thousands only reached the shore to lay their bones beneath the sod of the new country they were seeking for work and food. Grosse Isle was made a quarantine, station; hundreds died there, while the vast multitude pressed on up the St. Lawrence towards the great lakes, leaving their pathway thickly strewn with new made graves. Over seventy-five thousand immigrants arrived at Quebec during this unfortunate

Terrible sufferings from ship-fever of the immigrants of 1847.

summer, and nearly five thousand arrived but to die. The large tract of open ground at Point St. Charles, Montreal, was turned into a temporary camp, where thousands were given what relief and assistance was possible, but hundreds only reached there to die, and there was scarcely a town or village along the St. Lawrence and the lakes but what had its dead to bury, its sick to heal, and its destitute to provide for. As cold weather came on the plague abated, but there was much suffering through the winter on account of the immense number of destitute persons for whom immediate work could not be found; but the settlers came forward nobly and gave all the relief in their power, so that with returning spring brighter times dawned, and many of the unfortunate immigrants began to lay the foundations of new and happy homes which were to grow up to them out of the wilderness.

2.—Parliament met at Montreal on the second of June, 1847, and in his speech from the throne Lord Elgin referred to the vast immigration which was taking place, and the amount of sickness and suffering which was accompanying it, and recommended that some steps towards furnishing assistance and relief should be taken, a suggestion which was acted on during the session. The session was a short one, terminating on the 28th of July; and although the Draper ministry was defeated several times, it still retained office. It was apparent, however, that the Conservatives had lost the confidence of the people, and as a dissolution seemed inevitable, the Reform party began an active campaign immediately after prorogation, and had all their candidates in the field when the House was dissolved, on the 6th of December, and a new election ordered, writs being made returnable on the 24th of January, 1848. The triumph of the Reformers was complete; Baldwin, LaFontaine, Hincks, Blake, Malcolm Cameron, Price and other leaders of the party were elected, and backed by a strong majority. Papineau and Dr. Wolfred Nelson, of rebellion notoriety, were returned to this Parliament, but the former found himself shorn of his prestige and his place as leader of the French Canadian element, firmly occupied by Mr. L. H. LaFontaine. Parliament met on the 25th February, 1848, and Mr. Morin, a Lower Canadian reformer, was elected speaker. Mr. Draper, leader of the Conservative ministry, had been elevated to the bench, and the other ministers, seeing their majority in the Assembly hopelessly lost, resigned, and Lord Elgin called on Messrs. Baldwin and LaFontaine to form a new ministry, thus putting into practice the instructions of Lord John Russell, in 1839; and from this time is usually dated the firm and solid establishment of representative government as the constitutional government of the Province of Canada. The ministry consisted of eight English and four French members, and amongst them were Messrs. Robert Baldwin, Francis Hincks, Mal-

colm Cameron, L. H. LaFontaine, and E. P. Taché. After a short but busy session, Parliament was adjourned on the 23d of March. During this summer immigration continued large; and ship-fever broke out again, but not nearly so fatally as in the previous year.

3.—Parliament met again on the 18th of January, 1849, and the governor complimented the House on the near completion of the St. Lawrence canals and other public works, and on the general tranquillity of the country; but that tranquillity was soon rudely disturbed by the introduction, by Hon. L. H. LaFontaine, of a bill to pay the rebellion losses, on the basis proposed in the report of the commissioners of 1845, that is by an appropriation of £100,000. This was at once the signal for the wildest excitement in Montreal and throughout the province. The bill was warmly discussed in the House and strongly opposed by the Conservatives, who argued that under its provisions payment must be made to those who were in open rebellion, and they raised the party cry "no pay to rebels." The government, on the other hand, claimed that ample provision was made in the bill to indemnify only those who had been loyal, and that it was specially provided that nothing should be paid to anyone who had been convicted of high treason since the 1st of November, 1837, nor to those who had been transported to Bermuda; and the preamble of the bill bore it out in the assertion. Speaking of the loose manner in which the commissioner's report was drawn up, it declared, "It is necessary and just that the particulars of such losses, not yet paid and satisfied, should form the subject of more minute inquiry under legislative authority, and that the same, so far only as they may have arisen from the total or partial, unjust, unnecessary, or wanton destruction of the dwellings, buildings, property and effects of the said inhabitants, and from the seizure, taking, or carrying away of their property and effects, should be paid and satisfied, provided that none of the persons who have been convicted of high treason, *alleged to have been committed* in that part of this province formerly the Province of Lower Canada, since the first day of November, 1837, or who, having been charged with high treason, or other offences of a treasonable nature, and having been committed to the custody of the sheriff in the jail of Montreal, submitted themselves to the will and pleasure of her majesty, and were thereupon transported to her majesty's island of Bermuda, shall be entitled to an indemnity for losses sustained during or after the said rebellion, or in consequence thereof."

4.—The excitement grew intense as the bill passed its different readings; a strong "British" party was formed under the title of "The British North American League," with head-quarters at Montreal. It was well understood that the passage of the Rebellion Losses bill was

Introduction of
the Rebellion
Losses Bill.

Strong feeling
against the bill.
Annexation ad-
vocated. The bill
passed.

Second formation
of the Baldwin-
LaFontaine min-
istry.

the price Mr. Baldwin and his Upper Canada reform friends had agreed to pay Mr. LaFontaine and the French party for the support necessary to keep the reformers in office, and the feeling against "French domination" grew very bitter, and the antagonism of race blazed forth in all its fury again. The league looked on the whole French party in Lower Canada as quite as guilty of rebellion as Papineau, Nelson, and the few other scapegoats who were excluded from benefit by the bill on account of having been found guilty of high Treason, and opposed any compensation to those who had taken up arms against the sovereign, and who, if they had suffered any loss, got only what they deserved. The desire to escape from the tyranny of the French majority in the Lower province caused different expedients to be proposed. Confederation with the Maritime Provinces was advocated as the best means of breaking the power of the French; and the more violent of the agitators openly advocated throwing off allegiance to England and seeking annexation to the United States, and this latter feeling grew to be very strong. Meetings were held everywhere and the greatest excitement prevailed, but as yet only a few trifling breaches of the peace had occurred; and the ministry determined to push the measure through the Lower House, where it was passed by a vote of forty-eight to thirty-two, and afterwards passed the Upper House by a fair majority.

5.—The passage of the bill was attended by serious riots in Toronto and other cities in Western Canada; Baldwin, Blake and Mackenzie—who had returned to Canada—were burned in effigy, and attacks made on the residence of Mr. George Brown, proprietor of the *Globe*—the organ of the Baldwin-LaFontaine ministry, and the house of Dr. Rolph, as well as the house in which Mackenzie was stopping. Popular feeling, however, began to get somewhat cooler as it began to be generally understood—on what grounds no one knew—that the governor would either absolutely refuse his consent to the bill or reserve it for the royal sanction—which latter, perhaps, would have been the most politic course for him to have pursued under the circumstances, as the six weeks or two months which must elapse before the royal pleasure could be known would give time for the excitement to abate. But Lord Elgin had no idea of shifting the responsibility of approving the act on to the shoulders of the Home government; he had been sent out to Canada to carry out responsible government, and he was prepared to do so. His responsible ministers, who were supported by the majority of the representatives of the people, had introduced this bill; both Houses of the Legislature had passed it, and if responsible government was to be anything more than a mere empty name, he could not withhold his consent; he had no intention of doing so, and accordingly,

The Governor assents to the Rebellion Losses Bill.

on the twenty sixth of April, he went down to the Parliament House and gave his assent to that and a few other bills which had been passed.

6.—The news spread immediately that the governor had signed the bill, and all hope of his reserving it for the royal sanction was over; a crowd quickly gathered in front of the parliament buildings, and when the governor appeared he was greeted with jeers and groans by the crowd,—mostly composed of well-dressed, respectable-looking men,—and his carriage pelted with stones and rotten eggs as he drove off. No further ebullition of feeling took place then, and although Sir Allan McNab called the attention of the House to the circumstance, and advised the calling out of the military as a precautionary measure, no steps were taken to suppress an outbreak should one occur. The House met again in the evening; and about the same time the fire-bells were set going and a large crowd assembled on the Champs de Mars, where a few inflammatory speeches were delivered; but that angry multitude was in no humor to hear speeches; the demon of destruction had possessed it, and soon the cry was raised "To the Parliament buildings." Torches were suddenly produced, and lit up the darkening night with their ruddy flashes, and, proceeded by the bearers of these, the vast concourse, now numbering thousands, poured itself along the thoroughfares leading to the Parliament House, giving vent to its feelings in shouts, and yells, and snatches of ribald songs. No policemen were visible, and, the warning of Sir Allan McNab having been unheeded, the military had not yet been called out; so that the mob had nothing to check or restrain its unreasoning fury.

The Governor-General hooted and pelted by the mob.

7.—The Parliament House was a plain but substantial building of Montreal limestone, three hundred and forty feet long by fifty wide, and had been used as the St. Ann's market until the seat of government was removed to Montreal, when it was remodelled inside, and fitted to receive the various departments of the government. The House was in session discussing the Judicature Bill, when the angry roar of many voices broke on the stillness of the night, and gave warning that an infuriated mob was without. Almost immediately a volley of stones came rattling against the windows, and the members hastily beat a retreat, whilst, almost at the same moment, numbers of the mob forced their way into the hall of the Assembly, armed with sticks and bludgeons, and one ruffian assuming the speaker's chair declared Parliament dissolved. The work of sacking the place was speedily commenced, chandeliers were broken, desks smashed, seats torn up, and the mace, which had been left on the table, carried off in spite of the efforts of the sergeant-at-arms, who returned to fetch it. Soon the cry of "Fire!" was

Burning of the Parliament buildings by the mob.

raised and the vast crowd hurried from the building to the neighboring streets to watch the flames and revel in the work of destruction. Not a drop of water was permitted to be thrown on the burning building, nor any attempt made to save any part of its valuable contents. Indeed, the volunteer Fire Department was strongly in sympathy with the mob, and confined its exertions entirely to keeping the surrounding buildings cool so as to prevent the flames from spreading; so that the entire building and its contents, including the valuable library, were consumed, the only things saved being a very few books, and the mace which some of the rioters subsequently took to the Donegani Hotel and left in Sir Allan McNab's room. The military were called out, and kept the crowd back, but were powerless to check the destroying flames. By this act of vandalism Montreal lost the finest library it had ever had, and the records of the colony for upwards of a century were destroyed.

8.—From the smoking walls and blackened remains of what had been the Parliament building, the mob proceeded to the house of Mr. LaFontaine, which was set fire to, but through the exertions of the military and the more orderly disposed citizens, the flames were extinguished, not, however, until the valuable library had been destroyed, and nearly all the furniture either burned or spoiled. The mob next vented its spite on the office of the *Pilot* newspaper, which was the government organ and edited by Mr. Francis Hincks, and also broke the windows, &c., of the houses of some of the leading ministers. Under the fear that an attack would be made on Monklands, the governor's residence, his excellency was persuaded to remain in the city, under the protection of the military; but no attack was made, and towards morning the excitement subsided, and the sun rose on a city to outward appearance tranquil, only the smoking ruins and shattered houses telling of the wild outbreak of the previous night. Some of the rioters had been recognized, and on the twenty-sixth Messrs. Mack, Hunard, Ferris and others were arrested on a charge of arson and committed for trial; a mob of about three thousand persons accompanying them to the jail, but no attempt at rescue was made. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the commander-in-chief, arrived in town early in the day, and took precautions to suppress any further attempt at rioting, but with the exception of a few personal encounters, no outbreak occurred during the day. As night closed in, the rioters grew bolder, and attacks were made on the residences of Messrs. Baldwin, Cameron, Nelson, Hincks, Holmes and Charles Wilson, all of whom were supporters of the government, and doors and windows smashed. On the twenty-seventh, a body of special constables was sworn in, as exception was taken to the military doing police duty; but the fact that many of the specials were

Houses of obnoxious members attacked by the mob. Lord Elgin's recall demanded.

French and Irish, gave offence to the more violent of the British party, and some encounters took place between the constables and the citizens. A meeting of some of the respectable citizens was held on the Champs de Mars, and resolutions passed deprecating the riotous conduct of the mob, but condemning the conduct of the governor in signing the bill, and a petition to Her Majesty was adopted and signed, praying for the recall of Lord Elgin.*

9.—The Assembly met in the Bonsecours Hall on the twenty-eighth and passed an address to His Excellency, pledging its cordial support in any measures he may think necessary to take in preserving the peace and guaranteeing any expenses to which he may be put in attaining that object. This address it was thought better to present at the old Government House than at Monklands, and Lord Elgin came into the city for that purpose on the thirtieth. He was escorted by a troop of volunteer dragoons, and his appearance on St. James Street was the signal for another attack with stones and other missiles, and it was only with difficulty that he shielded his face, several stones falling in the carriage. The crowd continuing to increase, and press around Government House, Captain Wetherall, who was a magistrate, read the riot act, and ordered the troops to charge; but the crowd did not want to fight the military, and ran away, only however to wait for the appearance of the governor. He, however, not wishing to excite the mob by his presence, quietly left the building without being observed, and entered his carriage, which was rapidly driven in the direction of Sherbrooke Street. Then began a most unseemly chase, cabs, caleches, anything that was on wheels and a horse attached to it, were seized by the mob, and a sharp pursuit of his excellency began, which was only evaded by the speed of his horses; but some of the mob managed to cross him in St. Lawrence Main Street, and showers of stones fell on the carriage, smashing the panels and severely wounding his excel-

Further rioting by the mob. The governor again attacked.

* The petition read as follows:

TO HER GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

The humble petition of the undersigned, your majesty's dutiful and loving subjects, residing in the Province of Canada—

Sheweth, That your majesty's representative in this Province, the Right Honorable the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, by giving the Royal assent to a bill for compensating rebels for losses inflicted by your majesty's troops, and by others of your loyal subjects, acting under the orders of your majesty's officers, hath seriously impaired your majesty's Royal authority, and endangered the peace and tranquillity of the Province.

That your petitioners feel most acutely the outrage thus offered to your Majesty's Royal authority, and the insult to themselves—an outrage and an insult they believe unexampled in the history of nations, and which strikes at the foundations of allegiance and obedience, which are reciprocal with government and protection.

And they humbly pray that your Majesty will graciously be pleased to recall the said Earl of Elgin and Kincardine from the government of this Province, which he can no longer administer with safety to the state or honor to your Majesty; and that your Majesty will also disallow the said bill, which is an insult and a robbery to every man who, in the time of trial, stood forth to defend your Majesty's crown and dignity.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

lency's brother, Captain Bruce. The chief of police, Colonel Ermatinger, Captain Jones and several others were also hurt by stones. The lawless feeling of the mob was again aroused by a ministerial dinner being given at Tetu's Hotel to a deputation from Toronto; the crowd collected outside, stoned the place, and several persons were injured, the crowd being only dispersed by the arrival of the military.

10.—On the fifth several parties were arrested for participation in the late riots. No opposition was made at the time; but in the evening another attack was made on the house of Mr. Lafontaine, and the military were obliged to fire on the mob, killing a man named Mason. An inquest was held, and while it was in progress an attempt was made to fire the hotel in which it was sitting, and also to assault Mr. Lafontaine. The man, Mason, who was shot, was buried on Saturday the tenth. His funeral was attended by over two thousand people, and the scarfs of the pall-bearers, the trappings of the horses and the decoration of the hearse were of crimson. Meanwhile temporary quarters had been obtained for the government in some new buildings being erected by Mr. M. Hayes in Dalhousie Square, and the sittings of Parliament resumed. One of the first measures considered was the removal of the capital from Montreal, and various places were proposed,—Kingston, Toronto, Quebec and Bytown (now Ottawa), but it was finally agreed, by a majority of eight, that Toronto should be the seat of government for the next two years, and after that it should alternate between Quebec and Toronto for periods of four years each. A number of bills were pushed through and the House was prorogued on the thirtieth of May by the deputy-governor, Lieutenant-General Rowan. The strong opposition to the rebellion Losses Bill, the riotous conduct of the Montreal mob, and the petition for his removal induced Lord Elgin to tender his resignation as governor, which was not accepted, the Home government fully approving of his conduct, which was afterwards indorsed by both Houses of the Imperial Parliament. The malcontents, however, continued to keep up an agitation in Montreal, and the city paid the penalty of the riotous conduct of its citizens by having the seat of government removed—which caused an exodus of about five thousand of the population, and a general stagnation of trade. The annexation agitation continued for a little while, and a few merchants of Montreal tried to emulate the example of the celebrated "three tailors of Tooley Street" by issuing a manifesto depicting the wretched condition of Canada, and declaring that annexation was the only cure, but the good sense of the bulk of the people was against it, and the feeling gradually died out.

11.—The year 1850 was an important one in the his-

tory of the British North American Provinces, for in it they may be said to have entered into the period of their political and commercial manhood, and freed from all controlling influence of Downing Street, they began to feel, slowly and imperfectly at first, the advantages to be derived from having control of their own affairs. Great changes had been taking place in the policy of England during the past few years; the repeal of the corn laws of 1846 had thrown the English market open to all the world, and acted disadvantageously on the colonies, the greater facilities in transportation possessed by the Americans giving them an advantage; but it did good to the British colonies, inasmuch as it led to a spirit of emulation, and a desire to improve the internal communication of the provinces in order that they might compete favorably with the United States in the English market. The last barrier of colonial protection was thrown down in 1849 by the repeal of the navigation laws, which removed discriminating duties and allowed free trade with all parts of the world by provincial ships; but as it also allowed American and other ships free trade with the provinces, the blessing was at first considered a very doubtful one; trade and commerce were deranged, especially in the Maritime Provinces, and the cry was raised that England was casting off the colonies. As a means of allaying discontent the Imperial Parliament instructed Lord Elgin to use his influence to procure a treaty of reciprocity with the United States, and an agent was despatched to Washington to open negotiations on that subject, but the project was not crowned with success until four years later. A determined effort was also made this year by Hincks to establish Canadian credit on a better footing in the English market, and Canadian securities began to be quoted on the stock exchange; but the effects of the late riots in Montreal and the cry of annexation were very damaging to Canadian credit, and it was some years before it was firmly established.

12.—Parliament met at Toronto, on the fourteenth of May, 1850, and remained in session until the tenth of August, during which time a number of useful bills were passed. Considerable excitement was caused by the agitation in the *Globe* and other papers of the Clergy Reserves question, which had been settled by Lord Sydenham, years before, but not to the satisfaction of Mr. George Brown, of the *Globe*, and others of the Radical wing of the Reform party, who now began to be distinguished by the name of "Clear Grits," a *soubriquet* which has firmly attached to the party ever since Messrs. Baldwin, LaFontaine, and others of the old school of Reform opposed further agitation on the subject, and the appropriation of the Reserves to secular purposes as advocated by the Grits; but the latter were very persistent

Removal of the capital from Montreal. Lord Elgin's conduct approved by the home government.

Canada enters on her political and commercial manhood.

Agitation on the clergy reserves question by the "Clear Grit" party.

in their attacks and greatly weakened the ministry, although it still retained a sufficient majority in the House to conduct the government. Another question which occupied the attention of Parliament was that of making the Council elective, which was introduced by Mr. Papi-neau, but the quondam rebel had lost his influence and the measure was defeated. Towards the close of the year considerable agitation was got up by the conservatives in favor of a union of all the British North American provinces, and that was made one of their chief party cries in the general election of January, 1851, the result of which was to considerably reduce the government majority in the House, and strengthen the hands of the Clear Grits.

13.—The year 1850 was an unfortunate one for Montreal. The lawless spirit still showed itself in frequent incendiary fires, and encounters between the “British” and “French” factions. The municipal elections in May were attended by serious riots, in which many persons were injured, and an extensive fire in Griffintown, on the fifteenth of June, laid two hundred and ten houses in ashes, and rendered five hundred families homeless. The loss by this fire was upwards of £50,000, not quite half of which was covered by insurance. Scarcely had an effort been made to clear away the ruins of this fire and commence rebuilding, when another fire broke out on Craig Street, on the morning of the 23d of August, and spread up St. Lawrence and St. Charles Barronée Streets, destroying one hundred and fifty houses. These fires had a good effect in one way, however, as the scarcity of water called the attention of the authorities to the necessity of providing efficient water works, and a by-law was passed forbidding the erection of any more wooden buildings, or the use of shingles for roofing. The following account of the city from a Boston paper gives a rather disheartening view of it: “Montreal wears a dismal aspect; the population within the past few years has decreased some thousands, and the removal of the seat of government caused some four thousand more to leave. The streets look deserted; buildings burned a year ago, and Donegan’s famous hotel, are still in ruins. Every third store seems to want an occupant, and empty houses groan for tenants. The blackened walls of the Parliament House present an unseemly aspect, and the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah appears to hang over the city, if we judge by certain sections. General apathy in trade, and everything else, is apparent, and there is a lack of energy and enterprise. The public buildings are fine, and the canal and wharves are unequalled; but while government with a lavish hand expends thousands in vast works, and the representatives of the crown fatten on good salaries, the citizens grope about in the dark, because the authorities and the Gas Company differ about \$3,900 per year in supplying fifteen hundred lamps.”

14.—During the early part of 1851 considerable efforts were made by the Roman Catholics to obtain separate public schools, under the provisions of an act lately passed granting that privilege in certain localities where there was a sufficiently large population. About this time the railway fever, which had broken out in England, in 1845, and rapidly spread to the United States, began to be felt in Canada, and various schemes were advocated in the press and at public meetings and began to attract the attention of Parliament. Foremost amongst these was the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway, from Montreal to Richmond, a distance of nearly one hundred miles, which was opened this year, and made the occasion of general rejoicing in Montreal and elsewhere. This line was afterwards leased to the Grand Trunk, and forms part of the general railway system of that extensive corporation. Parliament met at Toronto on 20th May, 1851, and the success of the Clear Grit agitation was shown by the Honorable Robert Baldwin being forced out of the cabinet after a defeat on the Court of Chancery Bill. The clergy reserves and railway projects occupied a good deal of the attention of Parliament, especially the latter subject, which was now becoming an absorbing one in the province on account the great railway activity taking place in the United States, and the many lines being projected there. Mr. Hincks introduced a series of resolutions providing for a trunk line of railway through the province, which in later years developed into the Grand Trunk Railway. The House was prorogued on the thirtieth of August, and Lord Elgin took occasion to congratulate both Houses on the steps which had been taken for improving inland navigation, and also for promoting railways; as well as congratulating them on the very satisfactory exhibit which Canada had made at the great exhibition of 1851 in London. Trade between Canada and the United States was now steadily increasing, and the utmost good feeling was springing up between the two countries. The American railways were a great convenience in transporting goods in bond, especially during the winter, when Canadian ports were closed, and the way was being gradually paved for the ratification of the Reciprocity Treaty, which followed three years later. As an instance of this good feeling may be mentioned a grand banquet given in Boston, in September, to a number of Canadian merchants, at which Lord Elgin was present, and at which speeches were made favoring an increase of commercial relations and advocating Reciprocity.

15.—Meanwhile the Clear Grit agitation continued, on the clergy reserve and other questions, and so much pressure was brought to bear on the ministry that, in October, 1851, a change in the cabinet was made, and two of the most prominent Grits—the Ex-rebel, Dr. Rolph and Mr.

Railway projects.
Good feeling be-
tween the United
States and Canada.

Large fires in
Montreal. A dis-
couraging picture
of the city.

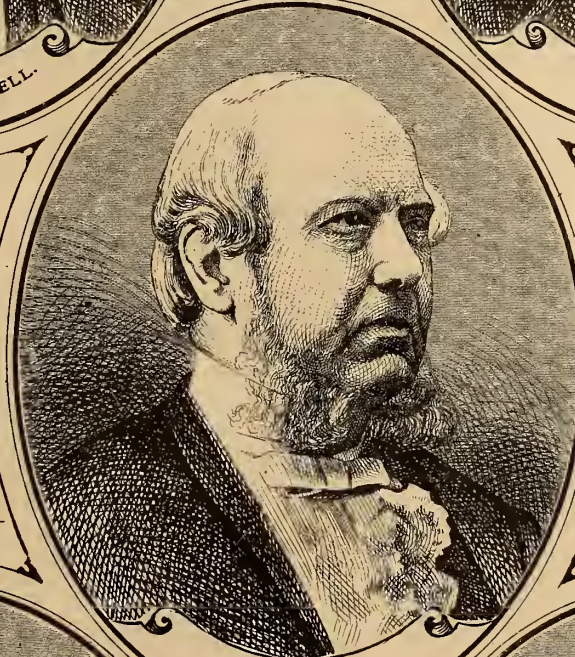
Domestic progress
of the Province.



HON. PETER MITCHELL.



HON. DAVID LAIRD.



JUDGE W. J. RITCHIE.



HON. H. L. LANGEVIN.



HON. ALEX. MORRIS.

Malcolm Cameron—were called to seats in the ministry, of which Mr. Hincks now became premier, and exercised almost entire control. A general election followed immediately on the reconstruction of the cabinet, when “the apostle of Gritism,” Mr. George Brown, of the *Globe*, was beaten for the county of Haldimand by Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie, Ex-rebel, and Mr. Robert Baldwin was defeated in York by a Mr. Hartman. The bitter feelings which had been engendered by the rebellion, and momentarily fanned into life again by the Rebellion Losses Bill, were now beginning to be assuaged, and the people turned their attention from political squabbles to the more practical work of improving the Province, socially and materially. In the early days of Canada all improvements were dependant on the general government; but the success of the principle of decentralization, as applied to municipal legislation in the United States, had attracted attention, and was now being generally adopted in Upper Canada, and, more gradually, in Lower Canada also; and the good effect was soon visible in the construction of better roads, and in various other local improvements. The passage of an act favoring the formation of joint-stock companies had also a good effect, and many useful enterprises were projected on that basis. Education was also receiving more attention; the adoption of a uniform system of text-books had been of great advantage to the common-schools, and the establishment of a normal school at Toronto gave promise of a future supply of good and competent teachers, a want which had long been felt.

16.—In the early part of 1852 Mr. Hincks visited England in connection with the proposed Grand Trunk Railway, and prepared a bill which was to be presented at the next session of Parliament.

Before that event took place, however, two more large waves of fire rolled over the devoted city of Montreal and laid a very large portion of it in ashes. The first conflagration occurred on the seventh of June, originating in a carpenter shop on St. Peter Street, nearly facing St. Sacrament Street. The flames quickly spread to St. Andrew's Church, and soon the whole space bounded by St. Peter, St. Francois Xavier, St. Sacrament and St. Paul Streets, was one mass of flames. The fire then passed over Custom House Square and along St. Paul Street as far as St. Sulpice, when it was mastered, after immense difficulty. By this fire the fairest part of the business portion of the city was destroyed, about two hundred houses were burned, many families rendered destitute, and loss to the extent of about \$1,000,000 sustained. The French Cathedral and the Hotel Dieu were in great danger, and were only saved by the utmost exertions of the military, who had removed all the sick from the Hospital, and were most untiring in their efforts to save both life and property. Severe as was this fire, however, it was as nothing compared with the one which followed a month

later, and left ten thousand people houseless and destitute. On the ninth of July a fire broke out on the east side of St. Lawrence Main Street, and spread with great rapidity as far as Mignonne Street; at the corner of that street and St. Dominique there was a large lumber yard, which served as a tinder-box for igniting the whole neighborhood, and the flames, fanned by a strong westerly gale, soon spread over the whole eastern portion of the city as far as St. Denis Street, and along Craig, carrying everything before it, stone houses offering no more resistance to its fiery breath than wooden ones. Meanwhile some of the sparks had been carried by the strong wind more than half a mile, and set fire to the lumber yards and saw mills on the river side, which were quickly consumed. All day long the flames ran riot in the eastern portion of the city, and towards five o'clock seemed to have burned itself out; just then, however, the alarm was given that it had broken out in a fresh place, and soon the work of destruction was renewed with even greater vigor than before. The Hay's House was an immense block of stone buildings, four stories high, facing Notre Dame Street, at the corner of Dalhousie Street, and extending back to Champs de Mars Street, there being a large theatre in the rear. The new fire caught in some wooden buildings in the rear and soon communicated to the main building, and from thence moved slowly along St. Mary and Lagauchetiere Streets to the jail, a distance of more than half a mile, taking the whole night to perform its work of destruction, and it was not until ten o'clock on the following morning that it burnt itself out, for the want of water and efficient fire apparatus made any efforts to check it futile. The space burnt over was more than a mile long by nearly half a mile wide, and over twelve hundred houses were consumed, rendering nearly ten thousand persons houseless, and destroying about \$1,000,000 worth of property. The distress was great and widespread, for nearly all the families burned out were of the poorer class and lost their all; but the richer citizens, and the people of neighboring cities, came nobly to their relief. Temporary places of shelter were provided in the emigrant sheds at Point St. Charles, in the Catholic convents, and in tents provided by the military; while subscriptions poured in from England, the United States and the sister provinces. Montreal had now had three great fires in two years, and the folly of allowing wooden houses to be built was seen, as well as the necessity for extended water works.

17.—Under the migratory system which had been adopted, Quebec now became the capital for four years, and Parliament met there on the sixteenth of August, 1852, when Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald was chosen speaker of the Assembly. Early in the session Mr. Hincks introduced a series of resolutions with reference

Ten thousand people rendered homeless by fire in Montreal.

Incorporation of the Grand Trunk Railway. The Municipal Loan Fund.

to a settlement of the clergy reserves, which were passed ; and announced that he had reason to believe that the imperial Parliament would shortly pass an act settling this fruitful source of uneasiness and discontent. An address was also presented to the queen favoring reciprocity with the United States, and strongly opposing any concession in the disputed matter of the fisheries, on any other basis. The most important legislation of the session, however, was with reference to railways, no less than twenty-eight bills promoting railways being passed and assented to by the governor-general ; amongst them being one incorporating the Grand Trunk Railway, to which a guarantee of £3,000 a mile was given. Other acts to subsidize the Grand Trunk were from time to time passed, until the total amount guaranteed on account of it swelled to about \$25,000,000. Still the money was well invested, for although the Grand Trunk never has paid as an investment and probably never will, yet it has been of incalculable good in developing the country and bringing out its resources. Another financial scheme introduced by Mr. Hincks was the consolidated Municipal Loan Fund for Upper Canada, by which the municipalities were authorized to borrow money on the credit of the province, for building railways, macadamized roads, bridges, &c. The municipalities quickly launched out into all sorts of wild improvements, and drew on the fund so rapidly that, in 1854, when the act was extended to Lower Canada, it was found necessary to limit the amount to be used by each province to £1,500,000 and very soon the amount spent by the municipalities amounted to nearly \$10,000,000, on which the general government had to pay the interest, for most of the municipalities were too poor to do so themselves, and the "improvements," although they benefited the country indirectly, made no direct profit.

18.—The finances of the province at this time were in a most flourishing condition, and showed a handsome surplus of nearly \$1,000,000 revenue over expenditure, the former being \$3,976,706 for 1852, against an expenditure of \$3,059,081. The debt at this time was \$22,355,413, and the credit of the province stood so high in England that its six per cent bonds found ready purchasers at fifteen to sixteen per cent premium. But the railway mania of 1852, and the continued railway fever which raged in the country for some years, soon told a different tale, changed a surplus to a constant deficit, and ran the credit of the province down below par. After a session of three months, Parliament was adjourned on the tenth of November until the fourteenth of the following February, the governor giving assent to no less than one hundred and ninety-three bills, when he finally prorogued Parliament on the fourteenth of June, amongst them being one altering parliamentary representation by increasing the number from eighty-four to one hundred and thirty, or sixty-five from

each province, and the districts were re-adjusted so that a more equitable representation of certain localities was arrived at ; this act, however, was not to take effect until the next general election. While the Canadian Parliament was in session the imperial Parliament carried out the promise alluded to by Mr. Hincks at the opening of the session, and passed a bill with reference to the clergy-reserves, giving the Canadian Legislature the power to deal with the proceeds of the fund in future for any purposes they pleased, except that the general stipends of the ministers of the churches of England and Scotland, and of other denominations coming under the clergy reserves act, were to be paid during the lifetime of the incumbents, and the existing interests in these reserves to be protected. The queen assented to the bill on the ninth of May, and a copy was at once forwarded to Canada for action ; but arriving towards the end of the session was not presented by Mr. Hincks this year.

19.—While the Legislature was in session two disgraceful riots occurred, one in Quebec the other in Montreal, caused by the preaching of an apostate priest named Gavazzi, who had become converted to the Protestant faith and sought to make other converts. He attempted to lecture in the Free Presbyterian church, Quebec, on the night of the sixth of June, but a crowd assembled, stoned the place, injured several people, and broke up the meeting, Mr. Gavazzi having great difficulty in making his escape. A search was then made for Mr. George Brown, who was looked on as the leader of the Protestant party in the House, but he could not be found. On the following day Mr. Brown tried to bring the matter up in the Assembly, but was ruled out of order. Defeated in his design of lecturing in Quebec, Gavazzi proceeded to Montreal, when he was advertised to lecture in Zion church on the ninth of June. Great fears of a riot were felt, and although the church was well filled, most of the men in the audience were armed, and a body of police was drawn up in front of the church, while a company of the 26th regiment—which had lately arrived from Gibraltar—was kept in readiness in case of emergency. The emergency came. The lecturer had got about half-way through his address when a large mob—composed chiefly of the lower orders of Irish—attacked the police, drove them back and entered the church. Here a fight took place between the rioters and the audience, the latter using pistols freely. The greatest confusion prevailed, and both parties struggled out of the church, the mob making for the foot of the hill, and the congregation being a little further up. At this juncture Mr. Charles Wilson, mayor of Montreal, threw the military, in two divisions facing outwards, between the combatants. Shots continued to be fired by the contending parties, and stones thrown, and the mayor having hastily read the riot act, ordered the troops to fire.

Satisfactory financial condition of the province.

The Gavazzi riots. Their effect on the Hincks government.

Instantly two lines of gleaming gun-barrels flashed in the murky light of night, a bright jet of fire spouted from each muzzle, a shower of lead fell upon the unexpecting crowds, and five dead bodies lay on the cold street under the pale moon, while about forty other persons were wounded, some of them almost mortally. This untoward event caused the utmost excitement and greatly intensified party religious feeling. The soldiers of the 26th were waylaid, if they strayed about alone, and beaten, while some one stole into the City Hall and defaced a picture of the mayor by cutting out the head. The fact that Mr. Wilson was a Catholic added greatly to the excitement, and reacted unfavorably on Mr. Hincks' administration, which was charged by the Protestant population with being lukewarm and prejudiced in its investigation into Mr. Wilson's conduct, so as to please the Catholic members from Lower Canada, and continue to secure their support. The ministry was now bitterly attacked by the Radical ring of the Reform press, led by the *Globe*, and Mr. Brown fast increased in popular favor.

20.—Public attention was, happily, distracted for a short time from this bloody picture by the opening of the Grand Trunk Railway to Portland, which took place on the eighteenth of June, 1853, and was celebrated by a grand banquet in Montreal. The ministry of Mr. Hincks now began visibly to lose strength, and it was clear that it was only a question of time—and that a very short time—before the "Clear Grits" would be the most powerful section of the Reform party, and drive Mr. Hincks from power. The death of Judge Sullivan and the elevation of Attorney-General Richards did not strengthen the ministry by the accession to its ranks of Mr. Joseph C. Morrison as solicitor-general; while the rumor that the ministry did not intend to take immediate steps to secularize the clergy reserves estranged many from the Hinck's party. But the greatest blow to the Hincks' party was received towards the end of the year, when a chancery suit in which Mr. Boreves, mayor of Toronto, was interested, developed the fact that he and Mr. Hincks had speculated in bonds of the city of Toronto to the amount of £50,000 when they were at twenty per cent discount, and that the premier had afterwards introduced and caused to be passed a bill in the Legislature which had the effect of sending those bonds up to par. Other charges of speculating in land on the proposed line of the railway for the purpose of selling to the road after he had located it so as to benefit himself by enhancing the value of his property, were also made, and his party suffered daily in public estimation. The premier, meanwhile, had proceeded to London, with Lord Elgin, to arrange matters connected with the proposed Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, which was now attracting attention in both countries.

21.—The preliminary arrangements were soon perfected and the governor and premier returned to Canada, the former almost immediately going to Washington to complete the treaty, which was accomplished on the fifth of June, 1854, and duly ratified by the two powers at once, the action of the provincial legislature being only wanted now to give the treaty effect. The treaty was for ten years, and granted free trade between Canada and the United States of the products of the forest, the farm and the mine; opened the inshore fishing and the navigation of the St. Lawrence and its canals to the Americans, while the British were to have free navigation of Lake Michigan. The treaty was highly pleasing to the people of Canada, but was not so favorably received, at first, by the people of the Maritime Provinces, who did not consider that they received a sufficient equivalent for their fisheries. The act, however, went into effect in March, 1855, and gave general satisfaction to the Canadians while it remained in force. Mr. Hincks was in no hurry to meet Parliament, for he could pretty clearly see "the handwriting upon the wall," and wished to gain as much time as possible; Parliament did not, therefore, meet until the thirteenth of June. The governor's speech from the throne dwelt on the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty, and touched on several minor topics, but said nothing about the two vital subjects which were agitating Upper and Lower Canada, the clergy reserves and the settlement of the seigniorial rights, and an opportunity was eagerly watched by the opponents of the government to get in a vote of want of confidence. Mr. Cauchon moved an amendment to the address blaming the ministry for not saying something about the settlement of the seigniorial rights, and Mr. Sicotte moved a further amendment censuring the ministers for failing to take any measures to settle the clergy reserves. The debate was continued until the twenty-first, when the ministry was defeated by a majority of thirteen in a House of seventy-one. On the following day the governor came down to the council chamber, and summoning the House of Assembly, prorogued Parliament, before a single bill had been passed. The prorogation was speedily followed by dissolution, and in July, the country was in all the bustle and excitement of a general election.

22.—Mr. Hincks had trusted to a general election in the hope that it would strengthen his party and exclude some of the more pronounced grits; for this reason every effort was put forth to gain a majority in Upper Canada—that in Lower Canada being assured—and all the power of the *Leader*, and other government organs was called into requisition; but the Clear Grits had too firm a hold on the people of the Upper Province, and the thunders of the *Globe*, *Examiner*, *North American*, and other radical

Charges of corrupt practices against Mr. Hicks.

Signing of the Reciprocity Treaty.
Dissolution of Parliament.

Defeat of the Hincks administration.

papers effectually silenced the feeble fire of the *Leader*, and placed a majority of the clear Grit candidates at the head of the polls. Mr. Hincks was returned for two constituencies, but his henchman, Malcolm Cameron, postmaster-general, was badly beaten by Mr. George Brown, and many of his staunchest supporters were discarded by their constituents. Parliament met on the fifth of September, and the vote for speaker showed that Mr. Hincks no longer had the full confidence of the House. Mr. George E. Cartier was nominated as the ministerial candidate for speaker, and Mr. L. V. Sicotte was proposed by the opposition. Mr. Cartier had a majority of nine of the Lower Canada members, but Mr. Sicotte showed a majority of twelve from the Upper Province, being thus defeated by three votes. Still Mr. Hincks did not resign; he waited to see the effect of the governor's speech, which he thought would gain over enough strength from the Brown party to give him a working majority. The House was formally opened by the governor on the sixth in a speech in which he foreshadowed the submission to the House of all the measures demanded by the Grits, a settlement of the clergy reserves and seigniorial tenure questions, the change of the Legislative Council to an elective body, and the Reciprocity Treaty. But Mr. Brown was not to be conciliated; nothing short of driving Mr. Hincks from power would suit him, and, with the help of Sir Allan McNab and the conservative party, he succeeded; on the evening of the seventh a question of privilege was raised, and the government asked a delay of twenty-four hours which was refused by the House, several of Mr. Hincks' supporters—amongst them Dr. Rolph, a member of the ministry—voting with the opposition. Mr. Hincks saw it was useless to attempt to conduct the government any longer, and accordingly resigned.

23.—Mr. Brown had triumphed over Mr. Hincks, and now made sure that he would be able to reunite the party he had split into two, and conduct a grit government himself; but he soon found that he had created a schism in his own party only to ruin it, and leave himself further from power than ever. Lord Elgin, on the resignation of Mr. Hincks, committed to Sir Allan McNab, leader of the conservative opposition, the task of forming a new ministry. Sir Allan was a shrewd politician, and saw at once that a conservative ministry, pure and simple, could not long expect to enjoy the confidence of the House. There were now really three distinct parties in the House, the Conservatives, led by Sir Allan: the Clear Grits, led by Mr. Brown, and the party led by Mr. Hincks, which was still numerically stronger than either of its opponents. Sir Allan determined on a *coup d'état*; the French party no longer presented a solid front and held the balance of power, it had split into *Bleus* and *Rouges*, the former sup-

porting the old Reform party and the latter the grits; the Conservative party, therefore, now held the balance of power, and Sir Allan at once opened negotiations with Mr. Hincks to form a coalition. His first overtures were made to Mr. Morin, leader of the French party, who consulted with Mr. Hincks, and that gentleman agreed to support the ministry to be formed, provided that two of his friends were members of it, and that the programme of the late government was carried out. A consultation was held with Mr. John A. Macdonald and other conservative leaders, and the terms agreed to, and immediately the first coalition government in Canada was formed. Sir Allan McNab was president of Council and minister of agriculture; John A. Macdonald, attorney-general west, and commissioner of crown lands; William Cayley, minister of finance; Robert Spence, postmaster-general; E. P. Taché, receiver-general; P. J. O. Chaveau, provincial secretary. The ministry was further strengthened in the following January by the appointment of Mr. George E. Cartier, as solicitor-general east. Thus was Mr. Brown "hoist by his own petard;" he had coalesced with the conservatives to get Mr. Hincks out of power, and Mr. Hincks returned the compliment by coalescing with the same party to prevent Mr. Brown from getting in.

24.—The new ministers, who were members of the Assembly, had, of course, to go back to their constituents for re-election, and were, without exception, again returned, in spite of the bitter opposition of Mr. Brown and his followers. All of the Hincks party did not follow their leader in his support of the conservative ministry, a small party, under the leadership of Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald remained in opposition; but the majority agreed to the coalition, and the new ministry found itself with a good working majority. Sir Allan McNab at once set himself to work to fulfil his promises to Mr. Hincks, and on the seventeenth of October, a bill to secularize the clergy reserves, in conformity with the bill passed by the imperial Parliament was introduced. The question of the clergy reserves had always been a troublesome one; the arrogant pretensions of the Church of England—most strenuously advocated by that "political parson" bishop Strachan—that the reserves were intended for that church alone and no other church had any right to part or share in them, had been denied by the action of the imperial Parliament in declaring the church of Scotland entitled to a share, and subsequent legislation had admitted other denominations to a participation of the reserves; but, of late years, a strong cry for an entire separation of Church and State had been raised; the Free Kirk movement in Scotland, in 1843, had rapidly spread in Canada, and ended in the bill now before the House, which withdrew the clergy reserves altogether from the church and placed

Formation of the first coalition government.

Secularization of the clergy reserves.

them in the hands of the different municipalities. Provision was made by the act for continuing the stipends of incumbents during their lifetime; but this was afterwards commuted with the consent of the different ministers, and a church endowment fund formed. The bill was passed by a large majority, and the vexed question of the clergy reserves was peacefully laid to rest.

25.—The next important bill which occupied the attention of the House was the Seigniorial Tenure Act, by which the last vestige of feudalism was swept from Canada. As has been already stated these seignories were originally granted by the kings of France to build up a Canadian aristocracy which should prove a support to both Church and State; these seigniors had been maintained in their holdings by the treaty of 1763, but the feudal system was repugnant to the feelings of English settlers, and greatly retarded the colonization of Lower Canada, the bulk of the immigrants going through to the western province, or to the States. The system at last began to be distasteful even to the clergy, and once their influence was turned against it, agitation for a change soon followed. By the bill now introduced the claims of the seigniors were to be commuted by a commission and the land acquired by the government, to be afterwards sold or granted as it saw fit. The bill was passed, and another troublesome question disposed of, but this one cost Canada dear, and it was only after many years, and at a cost of over \$5,000,000, that the subject was finally disposed of. Parliament was adjourned on the eighteenth of December to the twenty-third of February, after a number of useful bills had been passed, amongst them one giving effect to the reciprocity treaty, and another making some alterations in the tariff rendered necessary by the adoption of the treaty. An act incorporating the Canada Ocean Steamship Company was also passed, and another to amalgamate the Grand Trunk Railway with some other companies, increase its powers and grant it additional assistance, one part of which was the issue of £100,000 provincial bonds for building a bridge across the St. Lawrence at Montreal, since known as the world-renowned Victoria Bridge. On the day after the adjournment of Parliament, Lord Elgin resigned the governor-generalship and was succeeded by Sir Edmund W. Head, who had for six years administered the affairs of New Brunswick. Lord Elgin had long since outlived his temporary unpopularity at the time of the Rebellion Losses Bill, and was highly esteemed by the people as an active and energetic governor who had done much good for the province. That his services were appreciated by the Home government was shown by his being sent on a special mission to China and Japan, and afterwards appointed to the governor-generalship of India, when he fell a victim to the climate. Mr. Hincks did not remain long after Lord Elgin, his popularity was

greatly impaired by the charges made against him, and in the following year he was appointed governor of Barbadoes and the Windward West India Islands, from whence he was transferred to British Guiana. He was knighted and subsequently returned to Canada, where we shall find him, later on in our history, again entering political life.

CHAPTER CXI.

PROVINCE OF CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF SIR E. W. HEAD.

- 1.—IMPROVEMENT OF IMMIGRATION LAWS. FINANCIAL.
- 2. A FRENCH MAN-OF-WAR VISITS QUEBEC FOR THE FIRST TIME IN NEARLY A CENTURY.—3. THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL MADE ELECTIVE.—4. CANADA'S FIRST RAILWAY ACCIDENT. SEVENTY LIVES LOST.
- 5.TWO TERRIBLE STEAMBOAT ACCIDENTS. NEARLY THREE HUNDRED LIVES LOST.—6. FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 1857. REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION.
- 7. THE FIRST VOTE ON REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION. DEFEAT OF THE MEASURE.—8. OTTAWA CHOSEN AS THE FUTURE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.—9. AN ADMINISTRATION OF FORTY-EIGHT HOURS' DURATION.—
- 10. THE CARTIER-MACDONALD MINISTRY.—11. INVITATION TO THE QUEEN TO OPEN THE VICTORIA BRIDGE.—12. PROTECTION vs. FREE TRADE.—13. THE GRITS AGITATE FOR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THE REVENUE AND THE PUBLIC DEBT.—14. DEFEAT OF MR. BROWN'S "JOINT AUTHORITY" SCHEME.—15. THE VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. HIS ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION AT QUEBEC AND MONTREAL.—16. THE VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. INAUGURATION OF THE VICTORIA BRIDGE.—17. THE VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. DISCOURTEOUS CONDUCT OF THE ORANGEMEN.—18. THE CENSUS OF 1861. GREAT INCREASE IN TWENTY YEARS.—19. RETIREMENT OF SIR EDMUND HEAD. OUTBREAK OF THE SOUTHERN REBELLION.

1.—The adjourned session of Parliament met again on the twenty-third of February, 1855. The Cabinet had undergone some changes during the recess, but had gained rather than lost strength, and had still a sufficient majority to easily conduct the business of the session. Three days after the reopening of the session, Sir Edmund Head laid before the House a despatch from the colonial secretary in which he expressed Her Majesty's thanks to the Parliament of Canada for the congratulatory resolutions passed on the occasion of the victory at the Alma, and also for

Improvement of
Immigration laws.
Financial.

the two bills for £10,000 each voted towards the Patriotic Fund. The House was finally prorogued on the thirtieth of May, the unusually large number of two hundred and fifty-one bills having been assented to. Amongst these were a militia bill and one relating to immigrants. Hitherto immigrants had been most shamefully neglected, and little or no provision made for accommodating them on their arrival. The vessels were frequently overcrowded, and if ship-fever broke out there was no proper hospital care for the sick. Now quarantine harbors were established, and hospitals provided for the sick, while agents were appointed to furnish immigrants with reliable information regarding localities, &c., and protect them from the hordes of sharpers and swindlers who had been wont to prey upon the unsuspecting new arrivals. The public accounts for 1854 showed the finances of the province to be still in a very flourishing condition, the revenue having been \$7,088,110, and the expenditures \$4,171,941, which led to a reduction of the tariff from twelve to ten per cent, a very unwise measure, as the public debt was now increasing at a rate altogether out of proportion to the revenue, and had already nearly reached \$40,000,000, the greater part of the rapid increase being caused by the large sums spent on the Grand Trunk Railway.

2.—In March, 1855, an Industrial Exhibition was held in Montreal for the purpose of selecting goods to send to the Paris Exposition. The display was a good one, and the subsequent exhibit in Paris was a most creditable one, and tended to greatly elevate Canada in the opinion of those who had been accustomed to

think of her only as a country of backwoods. In July, Quebec was regaled with a sight which had not been witnessed in "the ancient capital" for nearly a century, the arrival of a French man-of-war. Admiral de Belveze, commander of the French squadron on the Newfoundland station, received orders from the Emperor to visit Canada for the purpose of extending the commercial relations between that country and France. The flag ship of the Admiral was the first French war ship that had visited the St. Lawrence since the conquest; and what a change had taken place since then. The little French colony of less than twenty thousand souls had swelled to a vigorous people of nearly two millions; the small fortress perched on a rock had grown into a large and picturesque city, whose wharves were crowded with shipping, and whose streets echoed with the busy hum of thousands of industrious people; even the very flags had changed, and where the *fleur-de-lys* had frowned down upon the Union Jack, the standard of England now floated on the breeze and smiled in friendly welcome on the *tricolour* flying below, in token of the amity existing between the two nations who were then fighting side by

side against the common foe in the Crimea. Two other great events of the year were the completion of the first pier of the Victoria Bridge, and the opening of the Grand Trunk Railway from Montreal to Brockville, making over three hundred miles of the road now completed. This little event took place on the nineteenth of November, and was duly celebrated at Montreal and other places.

3.—The year 1856 opened quietly and uneventfully. There was nothing to attract public attention except a

slight agitation in the press on the subject of making the Legislative Council elective and an attack on the Catholic majority of

The Legislative Council made elective.

Lower Canada by the Grit press led by the *Globe*, now considered the Protestant organ. Parliament met at Toronto on the fifteenth of February, 1856, when the governor informed the House that there was a large amount of clergy reserves money awaiting distribution amongst the municipalities; that a bill to make the Legislative Council elective would be introduced; that a contract for a line of ocean steamers from the St. Lawrence had been completed, and that reform in the police system would be proposed. The address was made the occasion of a strong attack on the ministry of Mr. Brown, who was supported not only by his own party but by a portion of the conservative party under Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald. The ministry managed to carry the address by a good majority, but it soon became evident that it was losing favor, and on the tenth of March it was defeated by a majority of four. The question was on a motion of Mr. John Hillyard Cameron for papers in the case of a Protestant named Corrigan, who was murdered near St. Sylvester, and several men who were on trial for the crime, all Catholics, were acquitted by a Catholic judge and jury in the face of what was considered conclusive evidence. The case attracted great attention, and the *Globe* and other extreme papers made it a text for calling for the formation of a new and entirely Protestant party, in which they were backed by the Orangemen, and party religious feeling grew very strong. Although defeated on the motion calling for Judge Daval's charge in this case, which they refused to accede to, ministers refused to resign, principally on the ground that they were supported by a good majority the same evening on another division, thus showing that they had the general confidence of the House. It was deemed expedient, however, to make a change in the *personnel* of the cabinet, and Sir Allan McNab resigned to make room for Mr. Taché, Mr. John A. Macdonald becoming leader of the party, and under his able management it soon gained increased confidence. The session terminated on the first of July, and under the skilful leadership of Mr. Macdonald, the ministry had not only been able to pass many useful bills, but to increase its power and influence in the House.

Amongst the most important acts passed was the Common Law Procedure Act, by which proceedings in the Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas were greatly expedited, and the bill making the Legislative Council elective. This change had been asked for many years before by the Papineau reformers of Lower Canada, but when tried it was found to work so badly that it was abandoned at Confederation and the old system of appointment returned to.

4.—On the twelfth of March, 1856, Canada experienced the shock of its first great railway accident. A train on the Great Western Railway from Toronto to Hamilton, broke down the bridge over the Desjardins canal leading into Dundas, and the train smashing through the ice seventy persons were killed. The signing of the treaty of peace with Russia, at Paris, on the first of April, was hailed with delight in Canada, as it was hoped that trade, which had been dull, would revive; but there was very little improvement, and the war with China and the Sepoy rebellion early in 1857 both tended to keep trade exceedingly dull. Parliament met at Toronto, on the twenty-sixth of February, and was not marked by quite so much party bitterness as had characterized the last few sessions. The most noteworthy feature of the session was a speech by Mr. Alexander T. Galt, member for Sherbrooke, in favor of the confederation of all the provinces, as the most effectual means of putting an end to sectional differences. The speech did not attract much attention at the time, but is noticeable as the first effort towards what was afterwards found to be the only remedy for the difficulties which had grown up in each province.

5.—On the eleventh of June, 1856, a terrible accident happened at Longueuil, a small village opposite Montreal, at that time the terminus of the eastern division of the Grand Trunk Railway. Communication was had with the city by a steam ferry boat, and on this fatal morning the boiler exploded while the boat was loaded with passengers and thirty-five persons were killed, and a large number wounded, many seriously. Just a little more than a year later—twenty-sixth of June, 1857—a still more terrible calamity occurred in the burning of the steamer *Montreal*, plying between Quebec and Montreal. She left Quebec for Montreal about four o'clock in the afternoon, having on board two hundred and fifty-eight immigrants, mostly Highlanders, and a number of cabin passengers. Shortly after leaving, and just as the vessel was opposite Cape Rouge, still within sight of Quebec, she was found to be on fire, and was run on shore; but the flames spread very rapidly, and there not being a sufficient quantity of boats, or life-saving apparatus, two hundred and fifty persons were drowned, two hundred of whom were the Scotch immigrants. A good deal of excitement was

caused in August by the first attempt to lay a cable across the Atlantic from Ireland to Newfoundland. The effort, however, was unsuccessful, the cable breaking after four hundred miles had been laid.

6.—The year 1857 was one of extreme financial depression in the United States, monetary institutions of all kinds felt the terrible pressure; many banks suspended, mercantile failures were numerous, and trade was at a stand still. The financial crisis of 1857. Representation by population. In Canada the financial depression was not felt until the fall, but then it was very severe. The harvest was almost a total failure, trade was perfectly stagnant, and the cessation of almost all work on railways caused great want and suffering. The revenue fell off considerably, showing a deficit of over \$300,000, and the country now began to feel the reaction after the vast—and in many instances extravagant and unnecessary—expenditures of the past few years in railways. The reckless policy of the Hincks administration in running in debt simply because it could borrow money, and inducing the municipalities to follow the same course by giving them a provincial guarantee, now bore very unpalatable food, and the province found itself pledged to pay \$800,000 per annum interest on railway bonds and about \$400,000 a year more on municipal debentures, the interest on which the municipalities themselves were unable to meet. A general election took place in the fall of 1857, and called out all the bitterness of religious and national strife, besides adding a new element of discord by the prominence given to the cry for "representation by population" raised in the *Globe* by Mr. Brown, by which he hoped to firmly establish an English and Protestant majority in the House, and entirely destroy the French Catholic influence, which in the existing state of party politics really held the balance of power.

7.—The new Parliament met at Toronto, on 28th February, 1858, and showed a greater number of new faces than any previous Parliament had done, sixty-five out of one hundred and thirty being new members, the most noticeable amongst whom was Mr. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, who was elected for Montreal West. Mr. Henry Smith, ministerial candidate for speaker, was elected by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-two, showing that the opposition was not very strong. The speech of the governor contained nothing of special moment except a most emphatic declaration "that the country had gone to the utmost limit of pecuniary aid to the Grand Trunk Railway." The debate on the address was long and bitter, Mr. Brown violently attacking the policy of the government at all points, but without avail, the address being carried by a large majority. The next test question was on representation by population for the whole province, without any dividing line between the Upper and Lower por-

Canada's first railway accident. Seventy lives lost.

Two terrible steamboat accidents. Nearly 300 lives lost.

The first vote on representation by population. Defeat of the measure.

tions. This was made the subject of a long and able debate in which the subject was fairly treated on both sides and resulted in the government being sustained by twelve in a House of one hundred and sixteen members. Mr. Brown's opposition developed the great unanimity of Upper Canada on the subject, however, every Upper Canada reformer, with one exception, voting for representation by population.

8.—The next question which was made a test one was on the seat of government, and it will be proper here to make a short explanation as to what this question was. It will be remembered that when the Parliament buildings at Montreal were burned by the mob in 1849, the House could not agree on the location of the new capital, the rivalries of the Upper and Lower province preventing either section having the permanent advantage of possessing the capital. A compromise was effected by fixing the seat of government at Toronto and Quebec for alternate periods of four years; but after seven years' trial this was found to be so expensive and inconvenient an arrangement, that it was determined at the session of 1857, to leave the matter to the decision of her majesty—each party feeling confident that it had a little the best of the argument, and would have a decision in its favor. But the Torontonians and Quebecers were both doomed to disappointment, for the decision was now made known, and it was learned that her majesty had selected the site of Ottawa, a thriving town of fourteen thousand inhabitants standing just on the border line of the two provinces, easy of access by both land and water, well laid out, and with a large reserve of government ground situated on a bluff highland overlooking the river and well suited for public buildings. A better choice it would have been almost impossible to make, for from its situation on the border line it could scarcely be said to favor either province, nor was it likely to become a great rival of the commercial centres of either province. As was to have been expected, the decision offended the partisans of both Toronto and Quebec, and a motion was carried by a majority of fourteen that it was a subject for deep regret that her majesty had made such a choice.

9.—This was, of course, an insult to her majesty more than a vote of want of confidence on the administration;

but Mr. J. A. Macdonald, ever anxious to make political capital out of an opponent's error, adroitly turned the vote to good account by tendering the resignation of the ministry; thus assuming the championship of her majesty's judgment, and gaining a little popular favor. Mr. Brown was at once sent for to form a ministry, which he offered to do, provided the House was at once dissolved. Sir Francis Head refused to do this until the supply bill and one or two other pressing matters were passed. Mr. Brown

Ottawa chosen as the future seat of government.

An administration of forty-eight hours' duration.

assented, and the next evening the following cabinet was announced; Inspector-general and premier, George Brown; speaker Legislative Council, James Morris; postmaster-general, Mr. Foley; attorney-general west, John Sandfield Macdonald; attorney-general east, L. T. Drummond; provincial secretary, Oliver Mowatt; solicitor-general west, Dr. Connor; solicitor-general east, Mr. Laberge; commissioner of crown lands, A. A. Dorion; minister of agriculture, M. Thibaudeau; receiver-general, M. Liemieux; minister of public works, Luther H. Holton. Mr. Brown's triumph was, however, very short-lived, for his government was met immediately by a straight vote of want of confidence and defeated in the lower House by a vote of seventy-one to thirty-one, and in the upper House by sixteen to eight. Mr. Brown made an appeal to Sir Edmund Head to dissolve Parliament, pleading that the House did not represent the country, but the governor refused to take that view considering that a general election had been so recent; besides which, he held that according to Mr. Brown's own showing there had been a great deal of corruption at the last election, and it would be best to amend the election law so as to prevent this before another general election was held; no course, therefore, was left Mr. Brown but to resign, which he did after having been in office forty-eight hours, the shortest administration ever known in Canada.

10.—The governor next called on Mr. Alexander T. Galt to form a ministry; but he, doubting his ability to form a sufficiently stable government under his leadership, declined the task, and the duty was assigned to Mr. George E. Cartier, leader of the Lower Canada party in the House, who, with the assistance of Mr. John A. Macdonald, speedily formed a very strong cabinet, composed of the following members; president of the council, John Ross; attorney-general east, George E. Cartier; attorney-general west, John A. Macdonald; minister of finance, Alexander T. Galt; commissioner of crown lands, P. Vankoughnet; commissioner of public works, Louis Victor Sicotte; postmaster-general, Sidney Smith; receiver-general, G. Sherwood; provincial secretary, C. Alleyn; solicitor-general, John Rose; speaker of Legislative Council, Hon. Narcisse Belleau. The new ministers did not go back to their constituents for re-election, according to constitutional custom, as a clause in the Independence of Parliament act of 1857 provided that if any minister resigned office, and within a month accepted office in another cabinet, he was not required to seek re-election, so that by changing the Macdonald-Cartier ministry to the Cartier-Macdonald ministry, it was held that the law was complied with. The Grits were furious at their summary defeat, and loud in their protests of the unconstitutionality of the ministers not going back to their constituents; but the matter was tested in the court of Queen's Bench.

The Cartier-Macdonald ministry.

TUTTLE'S POPULAR

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1877

and common Pleas, and the action of the ministers upheld as according to law. The law was, however, soon after repealed. The most important acts passed were with reference to the registration of electors; and the new customs act, by which the tariff was raised to fifteen per cent, a step rendered necessary by the large deficit to meet railway and other expenses.

11.—Except a momentary excitement over the laying of the Atlantic cable on the nineteenth of August, which quickly died out, as the cable ceased to work almost immediately, nothing of general public importance occurred until the opening of Parliament on the twenty-ninth of January, 1859. The governor in his speech from the throne urged the necessity of settling the seat of government question, as well as the Seigniorial Tenure question, and also drew attention to the subject of confederation, which was attracting a good deal of attention from the Home government. Very little opposition was made to the address, and the first test of party strength was on a question purposely prepared by the government to try the strength of the opposition. Mr. Brown had been a member of the public accounts committee, but his name was designedly omitted when the committee was struck, and this, as was intended, caused a motion to be made to have his name replaced; the government accepted this as a want of confidence motion, and developed greater strength than was expected, showing a majority of seventeen. This unexpected strength had the effect of quieting the House, and there was less factious opposition than usual. The bill selecting Ottawa as the seat of government in future was carried; and as Parliament had voted \$900,000 in 1857 for the erection of public buildings, work was commenced on the twenty-second of December. Canada had now two great undertakings on hand, one of which was near completion, the Victoria Bridge and the Parliament buildings; and in order to give due eclat to the formal opening of the former and the laying of the corner stone of the latter, an address was moved to her majesty inviting her to visit the colony and take part in the two ceremonies, accompanied by any members of the Royal family; and after passing a number of useful bills Parliament was prorogued on the fourth of May.

12.—The most important act passed at this session was the one relating to the tariff, by which the duty on imported goods was raised from fifteen to twenty per cent. This was necessitated by the constantly increasing deficit in the public accounts, and was not intended as a protective tariff, although it had that effect to some degree. This question of protection and Free Trade had now begun to attract considerable attention, and both sides of the question were warmly espoused. The protectionists held that Canada ought to be made, as far as possible, a self-

supporting country; that manufactures should be protected by a high tariff the same as they were in the States, and had been for years in England; that people should be encouraged to spend their money at home, and not be encouraged in seeking foreign markets for every little article of manufacture they may need. The Free Traders, on the other hand, claimed that Canada was not a manufacturing but an agricultural country; that the energies of her people should be devoted to developing the produce of the forest, the farm and the mine, and that it was advisable not to tax imported manufactures at all—or as lightly as possible—and to raise what revenue was needed for public purposes by direct taxation. The government wisely avoided the latter policy, and while increasing the tariff mainly for revenue purposes, at the same time gave incidental protection by exempting altogether classes of raw material which entered largely into manufactures, so that encouragement was given to capitalists to invest in manufactures, and soon a number of new industries began to be developed and furnish employment for many. The change in the tariff caused considerable complaint amongst English manufacturers who urged that it put them at a disadvantage with American manufactures; but that was the only ostensible reason for complaint; the real cause for dissatisfaction was that they saw that a strong protective tariff would develop home industries and tend to make Canada independent of both England and America for the bulk of her manufactured goods.

3.—In November the Grit party had a grand gathering at Toronto, and a new doctrine was propounded by the oracle of the party, Mr. Brown, which, as The grits agitate for federal government. The revenue and the public debt. it tended towards confederation, required a little careful consideration. When the Union was first consummated in 1841, ministers adopted what was known as the “double majority” basis for holding office; that is, that the ministry should not only have a majority of the whole House but of the representatives of each province. This was done to avoid sectional jealousies, and to prevent one province having the idea that it was being ruled by the majority of the sister province contrary to the wishes of the majority of its own representatives. This rule answered very well at first; but as the differences of race and religion began to be more and more developed, it became harder to conform to it; and after Mr. Brown’s evident violent partisan agitation on religious subjects, it became impossible to maintain the double majority rule and it was discarded by both the Macdonald-Cartier and Cartier-Macdonald ministries, they being content with a single majority of the House, it being evident that the two provinces had become so estranged in political feeling, that whatever party had the confidence of the Upper Canada majority would certainly be distrusted by the Lower Canada majority, and *vice versa*. Mr. Brown’s efforts to obtain representation by

Protection vs.
Free Trade.

population—which would give Upper Canada control of the legislature on account of her larger population—having failed for the present, the Grit convention at Toronto boldly declared that the Union was a failure, and demanded a separation of the provinces with a local government for each and a joint authority for both in matters of common interest, such as the tariff, defence, and similar matters. For the past two years the harvest had been very poor, and trade exceedingly dull; but the year 1859 was blessed with a bountiful harvest, trade revived, and under the new tariff the revenue rapidly increased so that it once more showed a surplus, the receipts being \$6,248,679 against an expenditure of \$6,099,570. The public debt had, however, greatly increased, and now amounted to over \$54,000,000, upwards of \$28,000,000 of which had been incurred for railways, over two thousand miles of which were now open for traffic in the province.

14.—During the summer the migratory seat of government was again changed to Quebec, where Parliament met on the twenty-eighth of February, 1860. There was nothing of special interest in the speech from the throne, and the address was carried without much

Defeat of Mr. Brown's "joint-authority" scheme.

discussion, the opposition reserving its strength for a test of the programme determined on at the Toronto convention. Early in the session Mr. Brown gave notice of two resolutions, one to the effect that the Legislative Union of the provinces had been a failure, that it had caused great dissatisfaction, grave political abuses, and a huge debt; and that on account of the differences of race, religion and interests of the two portions of the province it was desirable that the union should no longer be continued. The second resolution proposed as a remedy for these evils the re-division of the province into two separate governments each having jurisdiction over its local affairs, and a federal union for matters of mutual interest. Several attempts were made to pass a vote of want of confidence, but the government was steadily sustained by a majority of about twenty-five to thirty; besides which the leaders of the opposition were now quarrelling amongst themselves, some of them differing from the extreme radical views of Mr. Brown, who was urged to resign the leadership of the party. Mr. Brown's resolutions came up on the eighth of May and met with a most overwhelming defeat, the first being rejected by a vote of sixty-seven to twenty-six, and the second by seventy-four to thirty-two. Thus the "joint-authority" scheme was effectually shelved, amid the ridicule of ministers, who, a few years later were forced to acknowledge it the only feasible plan of solving the difficult problem of provincial government. That was Mr. Brown's day of triumph when his rejected idea was made the basis of a new constitution; but the triumph did not come for four years. Parliament was prorogued on the nineteenth of May,

after assent having been given to a number of bills, amongst them one appropriating £20,000 for the reception of the Prince of Wales, who, it had been announced at the opening of the session, would visit the colonies during the summer in place of his royal mother, and assist at the ceremonies of opening the Victoria Bridge and the laying of the corner stone of the Parliament buildings at Ottawa.

15.—Never in the history of the British North American provinces has any coming event cast so joyous a shadow before as did the proposed visit of H. R. II. the Prince of Wales. From St. John, Newfoundland, to Windsor, Ontario, glad notes of preparation rang out all along the line of the proposed tour, and each city, town, village and hamlet through which the royal party was expected to pass vied with its neighbour in preparing fitting honors for the welcome guest. At Montreal, as the commercial centre and the location of the great bridge which his royal highness was to formally open, preparations were made on a gigantic scale, and never did her citizens respond so royally or so loyally to any call as to the one to do honor to the son of the sovereign whose many virtues were so deeply implanted in the bosoms of her people. At Quebec a portion of the Parliament building had been fitted up for the reception of the prince and suite, and here he was received on the twenty-first of August by the governor-general and both Houses of Parliament, headed by their speakers, Messrs. Narcisse F. Belleau, and Henry Smith, both of whom were knighted by his royal highness. After two days' festivities at Quebec the royal party left for Montreal, arriving there on the twenty-fourth, when his reception was to have taken place, but "the fates were not propitious," a perfect torrent of rain fell all day, and the landing had to be postponed until the following morning, when his royal highness landed at nine o'clock and was received by the mayor and council, magistrates, clergy, &c., and presented with addresses, after which an immense procession, headed by a band of Caughuawaga Indians in full costume, escorted him to the mansion of the Honorable John Rose, which had been fitted up for his temporary residence. In the month of March the board of arts and manufactures had decided to erect a permanent building for exhibition purposes at Montreal, and had determined to build a crystal palace on St. Catherine street near University. This building was now completed and a grand industrial exhibition was held in it, which was formally opened by His Royal Highness at eleven o'clock.

10.—Immediately after the opening of the Exhibition a grand rush was made for Point St. Charles, where "the great event" of the day was to take place at two o'clock by the formal opening and inauguration of that wonderful triumph

The visit of the Prince of Wales. His enthusiastic reception at Quebec and Montreal.

The visit of the Prince of Wales. Inauguration of the Victoria Bridge.

of engineering skill and perseverance, the Victoria Bridge.* Trains had been crossing the bridge since the December previous, but the last stone had been left unlaied, and the centre-plate unriveted, ceremonies to be performed by His

* The following very excellent description of the wonderful work of art, taken from Sandham's *Montreal Past and Present*, will doubtless prove interesting and instructive to many of our readers. "The bridge consists of 23 spans, 242 feet each, and one in the centre, 330 feet, with an abutment, 290 feet long, on each bank of the river. The piers which support the bridge are 33 feet by 16 at the top, and increase to 92 by 22½ at the foundation. The upper side of the piers are formed like a wedge, to act as icebreakers, and these are dressed smooth, while the remaining sides of the pier are left in their rough state. The two centre piers are 33 feet by 24 at the top, and increase proportionately in dimensions as they approach the foundations. The courses of masonry comprising the piers run from three feet ten inches to one foot six inches, the individual stones of which range from six to seventeen tons. Those in the break-water are fastened together by strong iron cramps, 12 inches by 5½ thick, through which bolts, 1½ inches in diameter, and provided with a slit in the base for the introduction of an iron wedge, are passed six inches into the course below; when the bolt reaches the bottom of the hole prepared for it in the lower course, the wedge is forced up into the slit, thus dividing the iron, and forcing it against the sides of the cavity made for it, from whence it is impossible ever to be withdrawn. The whole mass of the cut-water is thus converted into one huge block. An important feature in the character of the bridge is the abutment at each end, and which gives so massive an appearance to the whole structure. They are 290 feet long by 92 in width at the rock foundation, and carried up to a height of 36 feet above summer water level. The tubes of the bridge have a bearing of 8 feet on these abutments. At the level of the tubes the dimensions are reduced to 242 feet by 34 feet; a parapet is then carried up on all sides to a height of 29 feet 3 inches, terminating in a heavy projecting cornice, with flat lintels 16 feet in width, over the entrance, and, being in the Egyptian style of architecture, the effect produced is grand and impressive, conveying the idea of enormous solidity and strength. On the entrance lintel of these parapets, above the roadway, the following inscription, in large letters, is cut into the stone:

ERECTED, A. D. MDCCCLIX.

ROBERT STEPHENSON AND ALEX. M. ROSS,

ENGINEERS.

The lintel over the tube bears the following:

BUILT

BY

JAMES HODGES,

FOR

SIR SAMUEL MORTON PETO, BART.

THOMAS BRASSEY AND EDWARD LADD BETTS,
CONTRACTORS.

The embankments are 28 feet in width at rail level. The superstructure, designed by Mr. Robert Stephenson, consists of 25 tubes of uniform width of 16 feet throughout, for the accommodation of a single line of railway, but differing in height as they approach the centre. Thus the depth of the tubes over the first two spans is 18 feet 6 inches, the next two 19 feet, and so on, every coupled pair gaining an additional 6 inches to the centre one, which is 22 feet in depth. The tubes are composed entirely of wrought iron in the form of boiler plate, ranging from 4-16 to 12-16 of an inch in thickness, with the joints and angles stiffened and strengthened with the addition of tee and angle irons. Windows are introduced into the sides of the tubes, and serve to light up the inside. The tubes are covered with a sloping, angular roof, composed of grooved and tongued boards, covered with the best quality of tin. A footwalk, 26 inches in width, extends along the top of the roof the whole length of the tubes, for the convenience of the employees connected with the work. The estimated cost of the work was \$7,000,000. This was afterwards reduced to \$6,500,000, including a bonus of \$300,000 given the contractors for completing it one year in advance of the time specified. The following particulars of the bridge and the material used in its construction cannot but prove interesting. First stone of pier No. 1, laid 20th July, 1854. First passenger train passed 17th December, 1859. Formally completed and

Royal Highness. The huge block of granite was suspended over the place it was to occupy, the Prince laid the mortar, the stone was lowered into its place, two magic taps with the trowel, a shout from the crowd and that part of the ceremony was completed. The Prince then entered a special car of state and proceeded to the centre of the bridge, where the last plate was to be riveted. Three ordinary rivets were driven home by two workmen, and then a rivet of solid silver was clinched by His Royal Highness, who thus completed the construction of the bridge. The party then proceeded to the St. Lambert's end of the bridge, where the Prince was presented with a gold medal commemorative of the event, and the other members of the suite were each presented with a silver one. After lunching in one of the workshops His Royal Highness went home, and in the evening drove through the city, which was brilliantly illuminated. A grand ball was given on Monday night and another on Wednesday; there was a fireman's torchlight procession and a great display of fireworks, and on Wednesday a grand review of the troops on Logan's farm was attended by the Prince, who appeared in uniform as colonel of the 100th, Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment. On Thursday morning the Prince and suite left for Ottawa, where another grand reception awaited him, and where the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the new Parliament Buildings was performed, on the first of September, before one of the most brilliant gatherings ever witnessed in Canada. After shooting the timber slides of the Chaudière, on an ordinary lumberman's raft, His Royal Highness proceeded up the Ottawa to Arnprior, crossed to Brockville, where he was most loyally received, and on the following day embarked on the steamer *Kingston* and proceeded westward through the magnificent scenery of the Thousand Islands.

17.—It had been intended to stop at Kingston and Belleville, but the Orange Societies of those places insisted upon making a party demonstration of the visit, and parading with their party flags, regalia and music, a course to which the advisers of the prince very properly objected, and the two cities were left "out in the cold" on account of this partisan folly. At Toronto he was

opened by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales 25th August, 1860. Total length of bridge, 9,184 feet lineal. Number of spans, 25; 24 of 242 feet, 1 of 330 feet. Height from the surface of the water to underside of centre tube, 60 feet. Height from bed of river to top of centre tube, 108 feet. Greatest depth of water, 22 feet. General rapidity of current, 7 miles an hour. Cubic feet of masonry, 3,000,000. Cubic feet of timber in temporary work, 2,250,000. Cubic yards of clay used in puddling coffer-dams, 145,000. Tons of iron in tubes, 8,250. Number of rivets 2,500,000. Acres of painting on tubes, one coat 30, or for the four coats, 120 acres. Force employed upon the works in 1858, 3,040 men, 6 steamboats and 72 barges. When the bridge was completed the solidity of the work was tested by placing a train of platform cars, 520 feet in length, extending over two tubes, and loaded, almost to the breaking limits of the cars, with large blocks of stone. To move this enormous load three immense engines were required; yet beneath it all, when the train covered the first tube the deflection in the centre amounted to but 7-8 of an inch, proving conclusively that the work had been erected in a most satisfactory and substantial manner."

The visit of the Prince of Wales. Discourteous conduct of the Orange-men.

splendidly received; but here again the officious bigotry of the Orangemen marred what would otherwise have been the most loyal reception of any of the cities. The Orangemen insisted on ornamenting one of the triumphal arches with party flags and emblems, although they had been warned that no display of the kind would be countenanced; the consequence was that, by the advice of the Duke of Newcastle, the Prince refused to pass under it, and the Orangemen revenged themselves on the Duke of Newcastle and Sir Edmund Head by burning them in effigy on Colborne Street. The rebuke had the desired effect, however, and during the remainder of his trip through the western peninsula the prince was not annoyed by any more Orange demonstrations, the people wisely contenting themselves with an exhibition of their loyalty without attempting to make party political capital out of it. His royal highness left Canada at Windsor, on the twentieth of September, passing over to the United States at Detroit, from whence he visited Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New York, Boston and Portland, from which place he sailed for home on the twentieth of September.

18.—Parliament met at Quebec on the sixteenth of March, 1861, and the governor-general announced that he had received from her majesty her grateful acknowledgments of the loyal manner in which the Prince of Wales had been received the previous year; but the House was very much disposed to grumble about the reception of the Prince of Wales, and the Orangemen were offended because they were not allowed to make the occasion one of sectarian strife instead of general harmony, while the masonic body felt indignant that the corner stone of the Parliament building was laid without masonic honors, and the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies thought they had been slighted by the manner in which their addresses had been received. These various complaints were made the grounds for several attacks on the ministry during the debate on the address—which lasted six days—but all motions were steadily voted down by large majorities. An amendment offered by Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, that ministers should adhere to the double-majority principle, was voted down by a majority of nineteen, and a direct vote of want of confidence being lost by sixty-two to forty-nine, the opposition gave up further wrangling and the address was passed. During the session a part of the census returns just taken was laid on the table, which showed that the total population of the province was 2,506,755, of which Upper Canada had 1,396,091, and Lower Canada 1,110,444. Twenty years before, at the time of the Union, the joint population had been 1,156,157, of which Upper Canada had 465,375 and Lower Canada 690,782. It will thus be seen that the total population of the province had increased nearly 217 per cent

The census of 1861.
Great increase in
twenty years.

in twenty years, but the increase had been by no means equal in the upper and lower portions, for while Upper Canada had increased at the rate of three hundred per cent, Lower Canada had only increased at the rate of a little over one hundred and sixty per cent. In 1841 the population of Lower Canada was 225,407 more than Upper Canada; in 1861 the population of Upper Canada was 285,647 more than that of Lower Canada. The Opposition made this a strong ground for representation by population, a resolution in favor of which was again introduced; but the government opposed it on the ground that it was contrary to the Union act, which required that each section of the province should always have the same number of representatives, and that this rule had been followed by allowing Upper Canada the same number of representatives at the Union, although she had fifty per cent less population than the Lower Province. The government was again sustained, and representation by population had to wait for confederation before the principle was admitted. Parliament was prorogued on the eighth of May, without any business of special importance having been done; and a few weeks after the country was in all the bustle and excitement of a general election. The contest was very rigorously conducted on both sides, and resulted in some gain for the Opposition, especially in Upper Canada, although it suffered two severe blows in the defeat of Mr. Brown in Toronto, and of Mr. A. A. Dorion for Montreal East, where he was badly beaten by George P. Cartier. Both, however, obtained other constituencies.

19.—Nothing of importance occurred after the election until the fall, when Sir Edmund Head was relieved of the governorship by the arrival of his successor, Lord Monck, at Quebec, on the twenty-third of October. But while time was slipping quietly away, and the year was drawing quietly to a close in Canada, events were occurring in her immediate neighborhood which were to have no small effect on her political future, and to hasten that consolidation of the British North American Provinces which had been the dream of so many statesmen. For over a quarter of a century the agitation of the abolitionists in the United States had been gradually engendering a feeling of distrust and dislike in the minds of the southern slave owners against their northern countrymen; and the doctrine of State rights was being yearly more emphatically enunciated by the leading politicians of the south, and foremost amongst the State rights claimed was the right of any State to leave the Union if she felt aggrieved or dissatisfied; this right the North denied, claiming that the Union was indissoluble, and that once entered it could never be seceded from. Another great point of difference between the two sections was on the question of free trade or protection. The North with its thousands

Retirement of Sir
Edmund Head.
Outbreak of the
Southern Rebel-
lion.

of factories and countless mechanical industries, was violently protective and desired by an almost prohibitive tariff to exclude all foreign manufactures; the South, on the other hand, had few manufactures and desired free trade that she might buy in the cheapest market in which she could sell her raw material in the way of cotton, sugar, tobacco, &c., scarcely any of which was manufactured where it was produced, but was sent away in the raw state and brought back manufactured. The animosity which had been growing for years, constantly fanned by the attacks of the unscrupulous partisan press of the North, at last led to an open rupture in the fall of 1860. The Democratic party, which had been in power for many years, had grown arrogant on account of its great majority, and ran two candidates for the presidency this year, which gave the abolitionists an opportunity to elect their candidate, which they did in the person of Mr. Abraham Lincoln, United States senator from Illinois. This was the signal for a general outbreak on the part of the South. South Carolina was the first State to break out in open revolt, and on the twentieth of December, 1860, her legislature passed an ordinance declaring that South Carolina was no longer in the Union, but was a sovereign and independent State, an example which was quickly followed by Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee, so that by the spring of 1861, the eleven slave States, with an aggregate population of 6,000,000 whites and 3,000,000 blacks, had seceded. The excitement in the North was intense. A small body of United States troops, under command of Major Anderson, was in charge of Fort Sumter, situated on an island in Charleston harbor, which was besieged by Southern troops: an effort was made by the steamer *Star of the West* to convey reinforcements to the fort, but she was driven off by the shore batteries, and on the thirteenth of April, 1861, a furious cannonade was opened on the fortress, which soon compelled Anderson to haul down the stars and stripes and capitulate. The news of the fall of Fort Sumter caused a general uprising throughout the North; Union meetings were held everywhere, 75,000 men were called out; volunteers flocked in thousands to the recruiting stands, and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed. But the recruits were exceedingly raw, and totally undisciplined, and the officers, for the most part, were no better than the men, for nearly all the regular officers had resigned their commissions in the United States army, and joined the South. Just one month after the fall of Fort Sumter the British government recognized the South as belligerents, and issued a proclamation ordering all British subjects to abstain from participation in the war—an order which was very imperfectly obeyed, for it is estimated that between forty and fifty thousand men from Canada were got as substitutes by Northerners, who pre-

ferred to pay a thousand or fifteen hundred dollars bounty to a man to go and fight for them, while they remained at home and speculated in gold or provisions, or got fat army contracts. The first battle of the war was fought at Bull's Run, on the Potomac River, near Washington, on the twenty-first of July, and resulted in a victory for the Southerners; after which both sides busied themselves for some time in marshalling their forces, drilling their men, and trying to make soldiers out of the raw material suddenly called from the plough, the workshops, or from behind the counter.

CHAPTER CXII.

PROVINCE OF CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK.

- 1.—THE TRENT AFFAIR. CHANGE OF FEELING IN CANADA.—2. DEFEAT OF THE CARTIER-MACDONALD MINISTRY ON THE MILITIA BILL.—3. FORMATION OF THE MACDONALD-SICOTTE MINISTRY.—4. ENGLISH FEELING ON THE DEFEAT OF THE CANADIAN MILITIA BILL.—5. BENEFICIAL EFFECT ON CANADA OF THE AMERICAN WAR.—6. DEFEAT OF THE MACDONALD-SICOTTE ADMINISTRATION. AN APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY.—7. UNSATISFACTORY FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE.—8. ANOTHER MINISTERIAL CRISIS. RETURN OF MR. J. A. MACDONALD TO POWER.—9. DEFEAT OF THE TACHE-MACDONALD GOVERNMENT. A POLITICAL DEAD-LOCK.—10. A COALITION GOVERNMENT FORMED TO CARRY OUT CONFEDERATION.—11. RAILWAY ACCIDENT AT BELCEIL BRIDGE. NINETY PERSONS KILLED.—12. TROUBLESOME VISITORS. RAID ON THE ST. ALBANS' BANKS.—13. CONFEDERATION RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY BOTH HOUSES.—14. THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.—15. LARGE FIRE IN QUEBEC. DEATH OF SIR E. P. TACHE.—16. A QUIET SESSION.

1.—The year 1862 closed dark and gloomy, with the war cloud hanging with threatening menace over Canada and liable at any moment to burst forth in a storm of blood and carnage, deluging our fair fields with gore and bringing desolation and ruin into many happy homes. On the eighth day of November, Captain Wilkes, commanding the United States gunboat *San Jacinto*, boarded the English mail steamer *Trent*, on her way from Havana to St. Thomas and took from her the Southern Commissioners Slidell and Mason, who were going to England to endeavor to have the Confederate States recognized as an independent

The Trent affair.
Change of feeling
in Canada.

power. The act was loudly applauded in the States and the newspapers went half frantic over the daring feat accomplished by a man-of-war in stopping an unarmed mail steamer and dragging two passengers from her ; but the shouts of exultation were soon changed to tones of apology and contrition, and no sooner was the demand for the release of Slidell and Mason made by the British Government, than they were given up. Wilkes suddenly fell from the pinnacle of his momentary popularity, and the United States Government apologized for the insult offered to the British flag. But Wilkes had raised a storm of anger and ill-feeling wherever the English flag floated, against the North, which no apology could at once allay ; and a great deal of the sympathy felt for the South in England and her colonies during the remainder of the war, dates from the day that the English flag was insulted on the high seas. In Canada public feeling was greatly excited, volunteer companies were formed, and active measures taken to prepare for the expected struggle, the principal field of operations for which would be our own fair country. The British ministry, with Lord Palmerston at its head, acted with the utmost promptitude ; 10,000 thousand troops were at once ordered to Canada, and through December and January transports were constantly arriving at Halifax and St. John and the troops being hurried through to the Canadian frontier towns. The excitement did not last very long, however, for on the first of January, 1863, Slidell and Mason were released and sailed from Boston for England. But the year had ended sadly, for with its close came the news of the death, on the fifteenth of December, of Prince Albert, and there was general mourning throughout the whole of Canada.

2.—Parliament met at Quebec on the twenty-first of March, 1862, and was opened with more than the usual display by Lord Monck, fifteen hundred regulars and volunteers taking part in the pageant, while double salvoes of artillery announced the arrival and departure of His Excellency at and from the Parliament building. Quebec is fond of a military display, and the unusual ceremony observed by the new governor-general created a good impression in his favor. The Cartier-Macdonald ministry elected Mr. Turcotte speaker by a majority of thirteen ; but it was evident at an early stage of the session that the Opposition had gained strength by the late election, and that the tenure of office of the ministers was a very insecure one, and that they were liable to defeat at almost any moment. In his opening speech the governor had alluded to the necessity for providing proper means of defence ; and, accordingly, the government brought in a bill providing for a reorganization of the militia. A strong opposition was got up against this bill, partly on the ground of economy, and partly on the ground that Canada would not commit any act which would involve her in war, and that

Defeat of the Cartier-Macdonald Ministry on the Militia Bill

if Great Britain and the United States became involved in war it would be on some subject over which Canada had no control, and she would suffer enough by being made the theatre of the war, in the event of its occurring, without being put to the expense of preparing for it beforehand. This was about the substance of the arguments of the Opposition ; and, on a vote being taken on the second reading, many of the Lower Canadian members deserted the ministry, so that it was defeated by a majority of seven, and at once resigned, the House adjourning to allow the formation of a new ministry.

3.—The House reassembled on the twenty-sixth of April, when Mr. Louis Walbridge, of Belleville, announced that the following cabinet had been formed under the leadership of Messrs. John Sandfield Macdonald, and Louis Victor Sicotte ; president of the Council, Thomas D'Arcy McGee ; attorney-general east, Louis Victor Sicotte ; attorney-general west, John Sandfield Macdonald ; minister of finance, W. P. Howland ; commissioner of crown lands, William McDougall ; commissioner of public works Ulric Joseph Tessier ; postmaster-general, Michael H. Foley ; receiver-general, James Morris ; provincial secretary, A. A. Dorion ; minister of agriculture, Francois Evanturel ; solicitor-general west, Adam Wilson, solicitor-general east, J. J. C. Abbott. The programme of the new ministry, as announced, embraced a return to the double majority principles in all matters specially affecting either section of the provinces, a readjustment of the representation of both sections of the province ; an amended militia law ; a protective tariff ; an insolvent act ; economy in public expenditures ; the maintenance of Her Majesty's decision with regard to Ottawa being the capital, and an investigation into some charges with regard to the construction of the Parliament buildings. This programme was well received by the public generally, and the leaders of the late ministry cordially offered the new cabinet a fair trial, but it did not suit the "Clear Grits," and Mr. Brown was soon actively at work in the *Globe* making rigorous onslaughts on the cabinet for not having adopted representation by population, and for pandering to the tastes of the French party to gain its support. Very little business was transacted after the formation of the new cabinet, beyond passing a short and unimportant amendment to the militia act, and the House was prorogued on the ninth of June.

4.—Considerable feeling was aroused in England by the defeat of the Cartier-Macdonald government on the question of military defense ; and the general impression was that Canada, in the event of war, which seemed probable at any moment, proposed to trust to England entirely for her defense ; a supposition which at once raised the question whether the colonies were worth defending, when they would take no measures for their own

Formation of the Macdonald-Sicotte ministry.

English feeling on the defeat of the Canadian Militia Bill.

protection. Lord Palmerston declared, most emphatically, that England had done all she intended to do for the defense of Canada, and that the people must either make preparations for defending themselves, or disgrace the race from whence they sprang. Lord Monck, at a public dinner at Montreal echoed the words of the British Premier, and said very plainly that in the event of war the Canadians must be prepared to furnish the bulk of the armies required themselves, and not depend entirely on England for protection. The English people were, however, wrong in attributing any disinclination to protect themselves to the Canadians; their only disinclination was to preparing for an event which they did not think there was any probability of ever occurring, and to adding to their already enormous debt, a vast sum for military defenses which they did not believe there would ever be any necessity for. The governor-général visited the Upper Province during September, and was cordially received everywhere, especially at Toronto, where he opened the Provincial Exhibition, and where he was entertained at a grand ball.

5.—The war was now being vigorously prosecuted in the States, hundreds of thousands of men were in the field, and hundreds of millions of dollars had been borrowed by the North to prosecute the war. Prices of all kinds of farm produce rose with startling rapidity, and an enormous trade sprang up with Canada, where the benefits of the Reciprocity Treaty were never so fully felt before. The free entrance of Canadian products to American markets gave the former an immense advantage in the matter of cheap production, as she escaped the enormous internal taxation which the United States government found itself obliged to impose to meet the expenses of the war. Especially was the trade in horses stimulated by the great demand for them caused by the large quantities needed by the cavalry and artillery; and troops of horse dealers from New York, Vermont and the neighboring states, were constantly in Canada buying up all the surplus stock they could find, and as nothing was too old or too poor to sell to the government, many a farmer got a first class price for an animal he had considered utterly useless and had turned out to die in peace. This prosperity continued during the war, and had a most beneficial effect in restoring a healthy tone to the agricultural interests, which had suffered greatly from poor harvests and low prices, added to a more expensive and luxurious mode of living into which the farmers had gradually fallen, and which only too frequently led to a mortgage on the farm, if not worse. Besides the better market opened to her produce, Canada was also benefited greatly during the war by the large floating population which came to her from both North and South, causing money to be exceedingly plentiful; indeed, so plentiful that while specie

Beneficial effect
on Canada of the
American War.

payments were suspended in the States, Canada was groaning under a plethora of silver, which got to be regarded as a "nuisance," and of which we shall have to speak further on.

6.—Parliament met at Quebec on the thirteenth of February, 1863, and it was soon evident that the Macdonald-Sicotte ministry was not strong; but it managed to avoid defeat on the address, although twice attacked on the question of representation by population, which was now rapidly growing in popular favor in Upper Canada. Since his defeat in Toronto at the general election of 1861, Mr. Brown had not had a seat in the House, but he was now elected for South Oxford, in place of Dr. Connor, who had been elevated to a judgeship in the Court of Queen's Bench. The ministry continued to lose favor, and the budget speech of Mr. Howland destroyed what little confidence was left, for in spite of the increased taxation the revenue was still less than the expenditure. Mr. John A. Macdonald now moved a direct vote of want of confidence, and the government was defeated by a vote of sixty-four to fifty-nine. The ministry preferring an appeal to the country to resignation, Parliament was prorogued on the twelfth of May, and a general election followed. Mr. Macdonald tried to strengthen his cabinet by reconstructing it before election, taking in some of the Brownites of Upper Canada, and some of the Lower Canada Rouges, but the effort was not very successful, for he lost about as much as he gained, and the action was assailed by the opposition press as unconstitutional, on the ground that an appeal to the country was granted to the Macdonald-Sicotte government, not to the Macdonald-Dorin government, as it had now become. The new Parliament met on the thirteenth of August; and after a very acrimonious debate of fourteen days' duration, the address was carried by the narrow majority of three, out of a house of one hundred and twenty-three.

Defeat of the Mac-
donald-Sicotte
administration.
An appeal to the
country.

7.—The financial position of Canada was now rapidly becoming very critical. The host of railway and other schemes sprung upon the country by the Hincks administration had caused a rapid increase of the public debt, and each successive government had gone on borrowing as long as it could find tenders; but matters were now fast approaching a climax. The province owed about \$70,000,000, which required \$5,563,263 to pay the interest, and the revenue had been falling behind the expenditure ever since 1857, so that the deficit now amounted to about \$12,000,000. Added to this, the estimates for the year were unusually heavy, amounting to \$15,119,200, of which \$4,294,000 was required for the redemption of seigniorial tenure bonds. To add to the embarrassment of the government the question of the termination of the

Satisfactory finan-
cial condition of
the Province.

Reciprocity Treaty now began to be seriously agitated in the States. This treaty had been found very beneficial to Canada, but the impression in the United States was that it favored this country too much; which, added to the general feeling of irritation against both England and Canada, on account of their sympathy with the South, led to a strong demand for the non-renewal of the treaty when the ten years were up, and Congress, during the session of 1863, passed a bill authorizing the President to give notice to the British and Canadian governments that the treaty would be terminated. In spite of all its difficulties, however, the Macdonald-Dorion government managed to get through the session, although supported by a very slender majority, and Parliament was prorogued on the fifteenth of October.

8.—The year 1864 did not open propitiously for the ministry. The office of solicitor-general west, had been left vacant when the cabinet was last reconstructed: it was now filled by the appointment of Mr. Albert N. Richards, member for South Leeds, who had been returned at last election by a majority of one hundred and thirty-five; but on returning to his constituents for re-election after taking office, he was defeated by seventy-five. This was a serious blow to the ministry, as it left it with only a majority of one; and on the meeting of Parliament, on the nineteenth of February, 1864, after vainly striving to strengthen his cabinet, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had no course left him but to resign. The formation of a cabinet was entrusted to Sir Etienne P. Taché, a member of the Legislative Council and a conservative, who with the assistance of Messrs. Cartier and John A. Macdonald formed the following cabinet: receiver-general and minister of militia, Sir E. P. Taché; attorney-general east, George E. Cartier; minister of finance, Alexander T. Galt; commissioner of public works, Jean Louis Chapais; minister of agriculture, Thomas D'Arcy McGee; solicitor-general east, Hector Louis Langevin; attorney-general west, John A. Macdonald; commissioner of crown lands, Alexander Campbell; president of council, Isaac Buchanan; postmaster-general, M. H. Foley; provincial secretary, John Simpson; solicitor-general west, James Cockburn. The announced programme of the new cabinet was—the remodelling of the militia in the best manner possible without increasing the expense; the maintenance of the Reciprocity Treaty; if possible, a commercial union with the Maritime Provinces; general economy and reform in fiscal matters, and the question of representation by population to be left an open one. The House was adjourned to the third of May to enable ministers to appeal to their constituents, an act which resulted in the re-election of all the ministers except Mr. Foley, who was defeated by a Mr. Bonman, in North Waterloo.

9.—There was no change in the animus of the House,

although the *personel* was varied a little; but the same factious spirit displayed itself immediately after the re-assembling of the House on the third of May, and on the thirteenth the ministry only escaped defeat on a straight motion of want of confidence, by a bare majority of two, in a House of one hundred and twenty-six. After fighting along for a month, with very meagre majorities, the government was finally defeated on the fourteenth of June on a vote of want of confidence arising out of a loan of \$100,000 made to Montreal five years before, the vote standing sixty to fifty-eight, Messrs. Rankin and Dunkin having changed from the ministerial side to opposition. Matters had now reached a climax, and the government of the province was at a perfect dead-lock. Every party had in turn tried to form a cabinet which could win general support, and each in turn had failed; party spirit and the fight of factions had so completely hampered the hands of each administration, that no one could now be found willing to undertake the task of attempting to assimilate the various and conflicting phases of political opinion, and form a cabinet which would receive anything like a popular support. The more thoughtful and considerate of both sides paused to reflect, and endeavor to find some means to break the dead-lock. Another appeal to the country would be useless as the last few general elections had shown that certain localities were wedded to certain ideas, and would only return men pledged to carry out those ideas; it therefore remained to find some means which would not only afford temporary relief, but would put the administration of the future on a firm and solid basis, not so liable to suffer from local jealousies, or mere personal or party-political spite; and the only remedy suggesting itself to those who were inclined to consider the matter calmly, coolly, and from a patriotic instead of a partisan stand-point, was a confederation of all the British North American Provinces, or failing that, the substitution of a Federal instead of a Legislative Union for the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, or, in other words, to take into serious consideration Mr. Brown's "joint-authority" scheme.

10.—The supplies were hurried through the House, and Parliament was adjourned on the thirteenth of June, but prior this, on the twenty-seventh inst., Mr. John A. Macdonald read a long document to the House, setting forth the basis of an agreement entered into between Mr. George Brown and himself—with the advice and assistance of their respective friends—for the formation of a Coalition Government to conduct the business of the country for the present, with a view to effecting a Confederation of the British North American Provinces, or at least of a Federal Union for Canada, each province, in either event, to have sole control of all matters purely local. In order

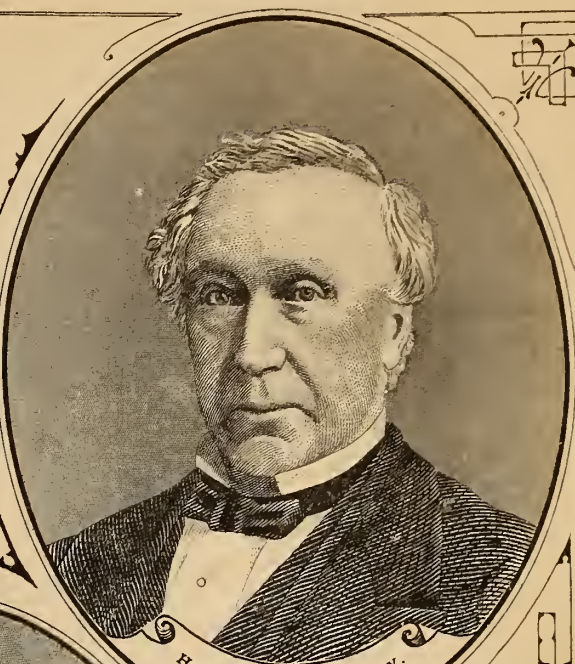
Defeat of the Taché-Macdonald government. A political dead-lock.

Another Ministerial crisis. Return of Mr. J. A. Macdonald to power.

A coalition government formed to carry out confederation.



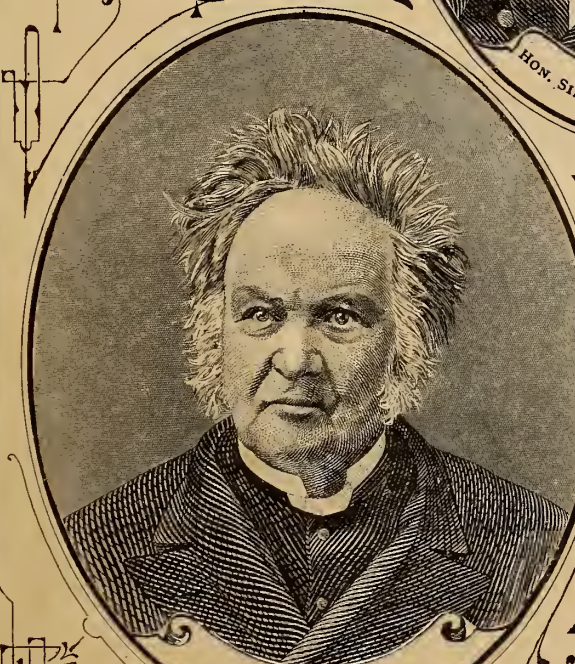
HON. ROBT. BALDWIN.



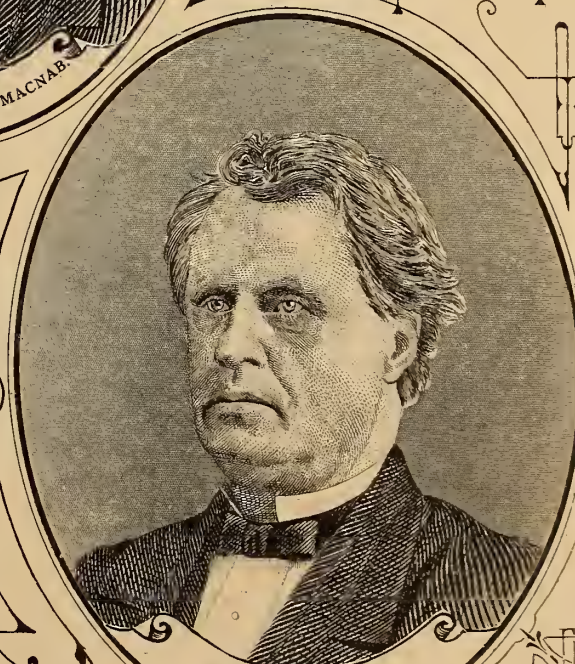
HON. SIR EDWARD KENNY.



HON. SIR ALLAN NAPIER MACNAB.



REV. DR. RYERSON.



HON. J. CHAS. CHAPAIS.



that the programme might be satisfactorily carried out, three seats in the cabinet were offered to Mr. Brown and his supporters, and the following changes were announced before prorogation: Messrs. Buchanan, Simpson, and Foley retired, and their places were taken by Messrs. George Brown, William McDougall and Oliver Mowat, as president of the council, provincial secretary and post-master-general respectively. The cabinet so formed was a strong one, the strongest government the province had known for years, and enjoyed the full confidence of the people, although party spirit and personal spite still showed itself a little, as evidenced by Mr. Mathew Crooks Cameron running against Mr. McDougall for North Ontario, beating him by a hundred votes; Mr. McDougall, however, soon obtained a seat for North Lanark. The ministry now set itself zealously to work to promote confederation. The Maritime Provinces were about to meet in convention at Charlottetown, P. E. I., and delegates from Canada attended. A subsequent meeting was held at Quebec, in October, for particulars of which we refer our reader to chapter 102.

11.—The summer of 1864 was marked by the most terrible railway accident which has occurred in Canada, and which was occasioned by a gross act of carelessness on the part of the engineer, who, however, paid the penalty with his life, together with other employees on the train. On the morning of the twenty-ninth of June, an emigrant train of eleven cars, having on board three hundred and fifty-four German emigrants, on their way up from Quebec, on the Grand Trunk line, left St. Hillaire station for Montreal. On reaching the bridge across the Richelieu River at Belœil, the engineer did not stop, as is customary, but ran his train right on to the bridge, the draw of which happened to be open to let some barges through, and in a few seconds the whole train was one confused mass of broken cars, crushing to death the unfortunate inmates. The cars piled up on the barges, which were broken and sunk, and it was with great difficulty that the passengers could be got out, many being drowned before they could be extricated. About ninety persons were killed and a large number wounded by this sad accident.

12.—The large number of strangers who made Canada their temporary home during the war, were not quite an unmixed blessing; although their presence caused a good deal of money to circulate, they gave great trouble and caused much annoyance to the government by their partisan conduct; a course which was also followed by a large portion of the Canadian press which was violently "Sesesh" in its tone, and the general feeling of the people was decidedly in favor of the South. But the strong Southern feeling led to unfortunate results, and greatly imperilled the peace of Great Britain and the United States. Numbers of

Railway accident
at Belœil bridge.
90 persons killed.

Troublesome
visitors. Raid on
the St. Albans
Banks.

Southerners made Canada—especially Montreal, Toronto and Quebec—their residences, so as to have free communication with their friends in New York and other northern cities, where there was a strong feeling in favor of the South. As the condition of the South became more and more desperate; as the Northern armies pressed closer and closer around the brave but slender forces of the confederacy, and there seemed no longer to be any hope for them against Grant's overpowering numbers, the Southern leaders grew reckless as to the means they used to inflict damage and injury on the North, plots of all kinds were formed in the South, and an attempt was made to use Canada as a base of operation for carrying them out. In September, 1864, a party of Southerners seized, on lake Erie, the American steamers *Philo Parsons* and *Island Queen*, with the intention of attempting to release the Southern prisoners confined on Johnson's Island, but beyond partly plundering the vessel nothing further was done. Another outrage was planned in Canada, and executed on the nineteenth of October, 1864, when a party of twenty-three Southerners passed from Canada to the frontier town of St. Albans, in Vermont, robbed the banks of nearly a quarter of a million dollars, shot the cashier of one of the banks, and made good their escape to Canada. Prompt measures were taken by the Canadian authorities to arrest the perpetrators of this outrage, and fourteen of them were captured and \$90,000 of the plunder recovered. The raiders were tried at Montreal in December, before Police Magistrate Coursol, and by some legal *hocus pocus*, were hurriedly released, and chief of Police Lamothe, not to be outdone in politeness, returned the \$90,000 to them in a great hurry and they got out of the city as speedily as possible, as warrants for their re-arrest were being issued. This over zeal on the part of Mr. Lamothe cost him his place, and the province \$90,000, which it subsequently had to make good; but a generous reform government has since recognized Mr. Lamothe's claims to consideration for the inconvenience he then suffered by making him Postmaster at Montreal. The St. Albans' raid, and the subsequent release of the raiders, caused intense excitement in the United States, and the more violent portion of the press demanded an immediate declaration of war with England; but more peaceful counsels prevailed; the Canadian government rectified, as far as was in its power, the fault of its officers in allowing the raiders to escape with their plunder, and a force of thirty companies of volunteers was called out and stationed on the frontier to prevent any more breaches of the neutrality laws, or outrages on American cities: and the ill-feeling engendered by the St. Albans' raid gradually subsided.

13.—Parliament met at Quebec on the nineteenth of January, 1865, and the governor in his opening speech before that body referred to the St. Albans' raid, and

Confederation
resolution adopted
by both Houses.

recommended the formation of a detective force, and the passage of an act giving him greater power to deal with persons who violated the laws of neutrality. He spoke strongly in favor of confederation, and said the colonial secretary had informed him that he was prepared to introduce a bill into the imperial Parliament, as soon as the different provincial Parliaments should have agreed on the subject. The debate on the address showed that a wonderful change had come over the spirit of the House, for instead of its lasting a week or two, as had become the rule, it was adopted in one day, the only amendment being to the effect that confederation was not desirable, which was lost by a vote of sixty-four to twenty-five. In the Legislative Council the Hon. E. P. Taché moved the following resolution on the third of February: "That an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying that she may be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the imperial Parliament, for the purpose of uniting the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, in one government, with provisions based on the resolutions, which were adopted at a conference of delegates from the said colonies, at the city of Quebec, on the tenth of October, 1864." The resolutions were then set forth in particular. After a long debate the resolution was adopted by a vote of forty-five to fifteen. In the lower House the Hon. John A. Macdonald introduced a similar motion the sixth of February. The debate lasted several weeks, the speech of the Hon. Christopher Dunkin, in opposition to the resolution, alone occupying two days and two nights. It is impossible to give even a brief resume here of these speeches, which were subsequently published by order of Parliament and occupy one thousand and thirty two octavo pages; suffice it to say that the position of Canada in the past was reviewed, and all the arguments for and against confederation fully discussed; the principal arguments in favor being that it would remedy the existing state of things in the province without interfering with local interests, as it would establish a general government for matters of general interest to all while it would leave local matters in the hands of the local government. Upper Canada would be satisfied by the introduction of the principle of representation by population in the general government, while the French of Lower Canada would be assured that their laws, language and religion would not be interfered with by those subjects being left to the local legislature. Before the debate was finished, news was received that New Brunswick had pronounced against confederation by rejecting nearly all the supporters of confederation at a general election, and the ministers, therefore, pressed the discussion to a vote, which resulted in the adoption of the Union resolutions by ninety-one votes to thirty-three

—there being only five members absent from the House when the roll was called.*

14.—Parliament was prorogued on the eighteenth of March, after having passed a number of useful bills, amongst them one providing \$1,000,000 for defence, and a deputation consisting of Messrs. John A. Macdonald, George E. Cartier, George Brown and Alexander T. Galt proceeded to England, in April, to further the scheme of confederation. While these events were progressing in Canada, the war in the United States was slowly but surely drawing to a close. For over a year General Grant had beleaguered Richmond with bull-dog persistency, and although repulsed again and again by General Lee, his ever-increasing numbers rendered the ultimate defeat of the South only a matter of time, cut off as it was from any hope of help by either land or sea. On the second of April, 1865, Richmond capitulated, and shortly after General Lee, finding further resistance useless, surrendered his whole army of about twenty-seven thousand men, to General Grant, at Appomatox Court House, and the Southern rebellion was at an end. The defeat of the South was deeply regretted in Canada, but that feeling was quickly changed to grief and abhorrence as the telegraph flashed the news on the morning of the fifteenth of April, that President Lincoln had been foully murdered the previous evening by John Wilkes Booth, while he was witnessing the comedy of "Our American Cousin," in Ford's Theatre, Washington. The assassin entered the private box of the President, just as the third act of the play had commenced, shot the President in the back of the head, and sprang on to the stage, shouting *Sic semper tyrannis*, the motto of the State of Virginia—from whence he made good his escape for the time being; but having broken his leg by the jump, he was easily tracked, and was shot in a barn a few days after by a party of

The assassination
President Lin-
coln.

* As it may prove interesting to our readers we give the vote on this important resolution.

Yeas.—Messrs. Alleyon, Archambault, Ault, Beaubien, Bell, Bellrose, Blanchet, Bowman, Bowu, Brosseau, Brown, Burwell, Cameron (Peel), Carling, Attorney-General, Cartier, Cartright, Cauchon, Chambers, Chapais, Cockburn, Cornellier, Cowan, Currier, DePoucherville, Denis, DeNiverville, Dickson, Dufresne (Montcalm), Dunsford, Evanturel, Ferguson (Frontenac), Ferguson (South Simcoe), Galt, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gibbs, Howard, Haultain, Higgonson, Howland, Huot, Irvine, Jackson, Jones (North Leeds and Grenville), Jones (South Leeds), Knight, Langevin, LeBoutillier, Attorney-General Macdonald, Macfarlane, Mackenzie (Lambton), Mackenzie (North Oxford), Magill, McConkey, McDougall, McGee, McGiverin, McIntyre, McKellar, Morris, Morrison, Parker, Pope, Poulin, Poupore, Powell Rankin, Raymond, Remillard, Robitaille, Rose, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Scoble, Shanly, Smith (East Durham), Smith (Toronto East), Sumerville, Stirton, Street, Sylvain, Thompson, Walsh, Webb, Wells, White, Wilson, Wood, Wright (Ottawa County), Wright (East York), — 91.

Nays.—Messrs. Biggar, Bourassor, Cameron (North Ontario), Caron, Coupal, Dorion (Drummond and Arthabaska), Dorion (Hochelaga), Duckett, Dufresne (Iberville), Fortier, Gagnon, Geoffrion, Holton, Houde, Huntington, Joly, LaBreche, Viger, Laframboise, Lajoie, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Glengarry), Macdonald (Toronto West), O'Halloran, Paquet, Perrault, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Rymal, Scatcherd, Taschereau, Thibandean, Tremblay, Wallbridge (North Hastings), — 33.

United States cavalry sent in pursuit. Lincoln never recovered consciousness after the fatal shot was fired, and died early next morning. The news of the foul deed sent a thrill of horror throughout Canada, and the day of the murdered President's funeral was generally observed in Montreal, and other cities, as a day of mourning, while resolutions were passed at public meetings, and by the municipal bodies, deprecating the assassination, and expressing the utmost sympathy for the people of the North.

15.—Some little anxiety was felt in Canada for a short time after the assassination of President Lincoln, as to the course which would be pursued by his successor, Vice-President Andrew Johnson; but the peaceful relations existing between the two countries was not disturbed, although the ill-feeling entertained towards Canada was evinced by the refusal, on the part of the United States, to entertain any proposition for the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and formal notice of its abrogation in March, 1866. The summer of 1865 was not an eventful one for Canada, with the exception of a large fire at Quebec, which occurred on the twenty-third of June, destroying a large number of wooden buildings, and property to the value of over one million of dollars, and leaving upwards of three thousand people houseless and destitute. In July, Sir Etienne P. Taché, president of the Council, died at the age of seventy-one, deeply regretted by all classes, both French and English. He took an active part in the war of 1812-15, and was always strongly in favor of a continuance of the connection with Great Britain as the surest means of preserving the laws, religion and language of the French Canadians, and a favorite expression of his was that "the last shot that would be fired on the American continent in the defence of the British flag, would be by a French Canadian. Mr. Gray, in his *History of Confederation*, pays the following just tribute to his memory: "He passed away full of honors and of years, and the future historian of Canada will refer to him as one who left to his countrymen of French descent a name without reproach; to his countrymen of English descent the noble example of a man rising above the prejudices of race, and devoting himself to the advancement of all without distinction. A good man and a true patriot, his memory will long be revered by the statesmen over whom he presided, and by the people whom he loved.

16.—Parliament met for the last time at Quebec on the eighth of August, 1865, the new buildings at Ottawa being now nearly completed. A conference was held between Messrs. Macdonald and Brown as to his successor in the Cabinet, which resulted in the acceptance of the position of Premier by Sir Narcisse F. Belleau, on the understanding that the

policy with regard to Confederation, agreed on in 1864, should be carried out as nearly on the original terms as the difficulties which had arisen in the Maritime Provinces would permit of. The session was an unusually short one, as the large majority had by the government enabled it to push its measures through with rapidity, and the session was principally noticeable for the large amount of private bills passed, the only public measure of any importance passed being one imposing a stamp duty on notes and bills. Some attention was paid to the subject of a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and dispatches from the Colonial Secretary laid before the House, in which he informed the governor that he had instructed Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister at Washington, to assist the Canadian Cabinet all that lay in his power in its negotiations for a renewal of the treaty. The colonial secretary also assured the governor of the willingness of the Home government to assist all it possibly could the scheme of Confederation, a line of policy which was not affected by the death of the English Premier, Lord Palmerston, in October. Nothing of special moment occurred during the latter part of the year, except the removal of the government offices to Ottawa in the fall, and a little excitement about the warlike preparations in the States of the Fenian Brotherhood, of which we shall speak in the next chapter.

CHAPTER CXIII.

PROVINCE OF CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK—(*Continued*).

1. FORMATION OF THE COUNCIL ON COMMERCIAL TREATIES.—2. ATTEMPT TO GET THE RECIPROCITY TREATY RENEWED.—3. HOW THE ABROGATION OF THE RECIPROCITY TREATY HELPED CONFEDERATION.—4. FIRST THREATENINGS OF THE FENIAN INVASION.—5. THE FENIANS, ONE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED STRONG, CROSS AT FORT ERIE.—6. VICTORY OF THE FENIANS AT RIDGEWAY.—7. RETREAT OF THE FENIANS.—8. END OF THE FENIAN INVASION.—9. LAST SESSION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF CANADA.—10. TWENTY-THOUSAND PERSONS BURNED OUT AT QUEBEC. TRIAL OF THE FENIANS. CONFEDERATION.

1.—The threatened abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty was regarded with alarm by a portion of the people of Canada; and the government found itself called on not only to make every effort to have it renewed, but to provide other channels for trade in the event of all attempts of a prolongation of the period of the treaty failing. The

Formation of the Council on Commercial Treaties.

trade which had spring up under this treaty had assumed vast proportions, and now aggregated about \$70,000,000 per annum, an amount of commerce which Canada was naturally anxious to retain; but the Americans were irritated at the countenance given to the South during the war by Canada, and now sought revenge by the abrogation of the treaty, and an encouragement of the Fenian organization. Our government acted temperately and moderately in the matter. On the fifteenth of July, 1865, a minute in Council was adopted to send two members of the cabinet to Washington to confer with Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister, with regard to a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty; but before any action was taken, a despatch was received from the Home government suggesting the formation of a Confederate Council on Commercial Treaties, to consist of delegates from the various provinces, and to be presided over by the governor-general, for the purpose of making such suggestions as may be thought proper to her majesty's government on the subject of commercial treaties in which the interests of the provinces were especially involved. In accordance with this suggestion the Council was formed at Quebec early in September, 1865, and consisted of the following gentlemen; Messrs. Brown and Galt for Canada, Ritchie for Nova Scotia, Wilmot for New Brunswick, Pope for Prince Edward Island, and Shea for Newfoundland; Messrs. Cartier and Macdonald were also, by courtesy, permitted to take part in the discussions of the Council.

2.—Under the notice from the United States the treaty was to expire on the seventeenth of March, 1866. The

Attempt to get the Reciprocity Treaty renewed.

Council on Commercial Treaties, therefore, took action as speedily as possible, and, on the eighteenth of September, 1865, drew up a series of resolutions to the effect that the colonies were satisfied with the existing treaty, but that in the event of a new one being entered into the coasting trade and registration of vessels ought to be included. The council also recommended that in the event of negotiations being entered into, some of the members of the council should go to Washington, and if final arrangements could not be made before the seventeenth of March, an effort should be made to extend the treaty until such time as the negotiations could be completed. The council also recommended that steps be taken to enable the provinces to open communication with the West Indies, Spain and her colonies, and South America, for the purposes of trade. Messrs. Galt and Howland of Canada, Smith of New Brunswick, and Henry of Nova Scotia went to Washington as delegates on the first of January, 1866, and opened communication with the United States authorities, through the British minister. The advances of the Canadian delegates were met with the utmost coldness, and it was speedily evident that the United States did not intend to consider any terms to which Canada could by any possibility submit.

On the sixth of February, 1866, the delegates became convinced that they could accomplish nothing, and sent the following reply to the committee of ways and means: "In reference to the memorandum received from the committee of ways and means, the Provincial delegates regret to be obliged to state, that the proposals therein contained, in regard to the commercial relations between the two countries, are not such as they can recommend for the adoption of their respective legislatures. The imposts which it is proposed to lay upon the productions of the British Provinces, on their entry into the markets of the United States, are such as, in their opinion, will be in some cases prohibitory, and will certainly seriously interfere with the natural course of trade. These imposts are so much beyond what the delegates conceive to be an equivalent for the internal taxation of the United States, that they are reluctantly brought to the conclusion that the committee no longer desire the trade between the two countries to be carried on upon the principles of reciprocity. With the concurrence of the British minister at Washington, they are therefore obliged respectfully to decline to enter into the engagement suggested in the memorandum." *

3.—Thus ended the efforts to renew a treaty under which the trade between the two countries had grown to such colossal proportions, that the American politicians fondly hoped that its sudden withdrawal would throw Canada into such commercial straits that she would

How the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty helped Confederation.

* It will be recollected that under the Reciprocity Treaty the products of the farm, the forest, and the mine passed free between the two countries; in order to show the difference proposed by the United States we give the memorandum submitted by the committee of ways and means, as follows:

1st. That they should decline to admit free any article whatever from Canada, with the exception of burr millstones, sags, firewood, grindstones, plaster, and gypsum.

2d. That they ask a right to fish as at present. They would abolish the present fish bounties, but impose an import duty more than an equivalent to these bounties.

3d. That the navigation arrangement would continue, providing that no discrimination as to tolls should be made between United States and British craft.

4th. That the present bonding system should continue.

5th. That the following should be the duties levied on other articles proposed to be included in this treaty: animals, living of all sorts, 20 per cent *ad valorem*. Apples, and garden fruit and vegetables, 10 per cent *ad valorem*. Barley, 15 cents per bushel. Beans, except Vanilla and Castor oil, 30 cents per bushel. Beef, 1 cent per pound. Buckwheat, 10 cents per bushel. Butter, 4 cents per pound. Cheese, 4 cents per pound. Corn, Indian and Oats, 10 cents per bushel. Corn meal, Indian and Oatmeal, 15 cents per bushel. Coal, Bituminous, 50 cents per ton. Coal, all other kinds, 25 cents per ton. Flour, 25 per cent *ad valorem*. Hams, 2 cents per pound. Hay, \$1 per ton. Hides, 10 per cent *ad valorem*. Lard, 3 cents per pound. Lumber, pine, round or leg, \$1.50 per 1,000 feet. Pine, sawed or hewn, \$2.50 per 1,000 feet; planed, tongued and grooved, or finished, 25 per cent *ad valorem*. Spruce, and hemlock, sawed or hewn, \$1 per 1,000 feet. Spruce, planed, finished, or partly finished, 25 per cent *ad valorem*. Shingle bolts, 10 per cent *ad valorem*. Shingles, 20 per cent *ad valorem*. All other lumber of black walnut, chesnut, bass, white-wood, ash, oak—round, hewn or sawed, 20 per cent *ad valorem*. If planed, tongued and grooved, or finished, 25 per cent *ad valorem*. Oars, 10 per cent *ad valorem*. Peas, 25 cents per bushel. Pork, 1 cent per pound. Potatoes, 10 cents per bushel. Seed, timothy and clover, 20 per cent *ad valorem*. Trees, plants and shrubs, ornamental and fruit, 15 per cent *ad valorem*. Tallow, 2 cents per pound. Wheat, 20 cents per bushel.

be glad to beg to be annexed to the United States ; but for once the American politicians were wrong, for instead of causing any desire for annexation, the abrogation of the treaty drew the provinces closer together, hastened confederation, and thereby greatly increased an inter-provincial trade which, to a great extent, supplied a market for the productions of the various provinces hitherto furnished to the United States under the Reciprocity Treaty. The abrogation of the treaty caused a great change in the channels of Canadian commerce ; instead of her produce being furnished, to a great extent, to the United States and filtered through American markets to foreign ones as American goods, Canada was now thrown into sharp competition with the States in the articles which both produce, and as the experience of ten years has shown, Canada has been able to hold her own. New markets were sought, and direct trade opened up to ports which had hitherto only been reached by Canadian products through American ports. In January, 1866, the Commission appointed at the suggestion of the Confederate Council on Commercial Treaties, proceeded to the British and Foreign West India Islands, Brazil and Mexico, and made valuable inquiries with regard to commerce with those countries, which have since led to considerable trade springing up between them and Canada.* Besides giving Canada an incentive to build up a foreign trade of her own, the abrogation of the treaty had an immediate good effect, as it took away all the surplus stock, and in-

* This Commission consisted of Hon. William Macdougall and Messrs. Ryan, Delisle and Dunscomb on behalf of Canada ; Messrs. Macdonald and Levisconte on behalf of Nova Scotia ; Mr. William Smith, Comptroller of Customs at St. John, on behalf of New Brunswick ; and Hon. W. H. Pope, on behalf of Prince Edward Island. The Commissioners reported in May, 1866, making the following suggestions :

1st. To establish promptly a line of steamers suitable for the carriage of mails, passengers and freight between Halifax, N. S., and St. Thomas in the West Indies, touching (until the completion of the Intercolonial Railway) at Portland, in the United States, so as to ensure regular semi-monthly communication between the ports mentioned.

2d. To make a convention or agreement with the postal authorities of the United States for the prompt transmission of letters, &c., from Canada and the Maritime Provinces, by every United States mail which leaves the port of Boston or New York for the West Indies, Brazil, Mexico, &c., and also for the transmission through the United States mails of correspondence originating in those countries.

3d. To establish a weekly line of steamers between Montreal and Halifax, and to complete, as soon as possible, the Intercolonial Railway.

4th. To procure, by reciprocal treaties or otherwise, a reduction of the duties now levied on flour, fish, lumber, pork, butter, and other staple productions of British North America, in the West Indies, and especially with Brazil and the Colonies of Spain.

5th. To obtain, if possible, from the Spanish and Brazilian authorities, a remission of the heavy dues now chargeable on the transfer of vessels from the British to the Spanish and Brazilian flags.

6th. To procure, by negotiation with the proper authorities, an assimilation of the tariffs of the British West India Colonies in respect to flour, lumber, fish and other staples of British North America, a measure which would greatly facilitate commercial operations, and may well be urged in view of the assimilation about to be made in the tariff of Canada and the Maritime Provinces.

7th, and lastly. To promote, by prudent legislation and a sound fiscal policy, the solid development of the great natural resources of the British North American Provinces, and to present, as far as lies in their power, the advantage which they never possessed of being able to produce at a cheaper cost than any other country most of the great staples which the inhabitants of the tropics must procure from Northern ports.

deed, almost more than could be spared, by the endeavors of the American purchasers to buy in the cheapest market as long as their government would let them ; and a large amount of ready money found its way into Canada immediately before the expiration of the treaty, in exchange for produce. American dealers in farm stock and produce spread themselves in every direction over the country, already largely denuded of salable articles, and purchased everything buyable. The various international ferries were choked up continually with vast droves of cattle, sheep, and horses, as though a hostile army had harried all Canada, while the conveying capacity of the railways, in every direction, was taxed to its utmost limits to meet the needs of produce buyers at this juncture. Colonel Gray truly says : " To this action of the American government on the question of reciprocity, and to the Trent affair, the rapid achievement of Canadian Union may be mainly attributed. It would have come in time, but the latter, acting upon the British government, and the former upon the British Provinces, brought it about at once ; and if hereafter a great Northern nation should spring from the Confederation, rivalling the United States in power, in constitutional freedom, in commercial enterprise and in the development of all those elements of strength which indicate a progressive and contented people, rivals in all the pursuits of peace, and equals in the emergencies of war, the United States will have to look back to their own action in 1862 and 1865, as one of the main conducting causes."

4.—The discussion on the Reciprocity Treaty caused a change in the cabinet, Mr. Brown differing from his colleagues and retiring from the board in January, 1866. His place as president of the Council was taken by Mr. Howland, and Mr. Ferguson Blair succeeded Mr. Howland. We have to turn aside from the consideration of confederation for a moment, to chronicle a most wanton breach of the laws of nations, and one which, without having any direct bearing on confederation, still showed the necessity for a combination on the part of the provinces to resist the attack of an outside foe. All through the winter of 1865–6, the formation of a society known as the Fenian Brotherhood, for the avowed purpose of invading Canada and using that country as a basis of operations against England for the " liberation " of Ireland, was not only allowed but openly encouraged in the United States. The Fenians were divided into two parties, one under Stephens and O'Mahoney, making Ireland their objective point ; while the other, under Sweeney and Roberts proposed to conquer Canada. An immense number of " centres " were formed, not only in almost every one of the Northern States, but also in Canada, where some misguided men were found foolish enough to join in the mad scheme. The threat of invasion was openly made and General

First threatenings of the Fenian invasion.

Sweeney's programme published, the plan being a series of combined movements from various points, on St. Patrick's Day, the 17th of March, the very day of the expiration of the Reciprocity Treaty. Ten thousand volunteers were called out in Canada, and sprang to arms with alacrity ; but the 17th of March came and went, and no offensive move was made. In April a slight demonstration was made in New Brunswick, as already mentioned, but by the middle of May everything looked so quiet on the frontier that some of the volunteers were allowed to go home.

5.—The close of the war in April, 1865, gave a great impetus to the Fenian movement. Thousands of men who served in the army—many of them lawless individuals, the scum of the large cities, who had either been tempted by the high bounties, or had enlisted to escape the meshes of the law—were suddenly disbanded and thrown on the country to support themselves. A short term of service had rendered these men disinclined for the usual peaceful avocations of life, and ready for any wild adventure which promised excitement and profit ; and it was not long, therefore, before thousands of them joined themselves to the Fenian leaders, and were ready to make a descent on Canada and sack her fair cities. Active preparations were commenced about the middle of May, the Fenian leaders proposing to make simultaneous attacks from Chicago and other western cities, on the Lake Huron district ; from Buffalo and Rochester on the Niagara frontier, and from Ogdensburg on Ottawa and Montreal. That the Fenians could have the audacity to prepare so bold a plan, and one requiring such considerable resources, shows not only the extent of the movement but the immunity from interference by the United States authorities, of which they felt assured. During the last week in May, the city of Buffalo was fairly alive with bands of the intending marauders, who assembled there from New York and other Atlantic cities ; and early on the morning of the first of June, General O'Neil and twelve hundred men crossed the Niagara River at Blackrock, and took possession of the ruins of old Fort Erie, and also of the depot of the Buffalo and Lake Huron railway ; but fortunately the rolling stock had all been removed. After the crossing had been made the United States authorities made an ostentatious display of preventing it, and the war steamer *Michigan* patrolled the river all day, but made no effort to stop the small boats with provisions and reinforcements from crossing, and numbers came over during the day. O'Neil remained at Fort Erie during Friday, and beyond taking all the provisions he wanted for his men, and all the horses he could find, did not offer any injury to the inhabitants. If he had expected any rising in his favor he was disappointed, for not half a dozen persons joined him. After resting his men Friday night, he made a display in force on Saturday

The Fenians, 1,200 strong, cross at Fort Erie.

morning down the Niagara River ; but quickly returning to Fort Erie he left a guard there to keep his communications with Buffalo open, and marched the main body of his force ten miles towards the Welland Canal, to a place called Limeridge, where he took up a good position on a slight elevation and began to throw up breastworks.

6.—The news of the invasion spread rapidly and caused a feeling of the utmost indignation throughout Canada, volunteers sprang to arms, and much enthusiasm was displayed, but unfortunately there was also much mismanagement and want of proper organization, so that the blow struck at the Fenians was not near so effective as it should have been, and was attended with greater loss of life than was necessary, the fault lying in the inexperience and incompetency of the officers, and their woeful ignorance of the country in which they were operating. Immediately on hearing of the invasion, the Queen's Own, of Toronto, a volunteer corps composed mostly of college boys ; the 13th Hamilton volunteers, and the York and Caledonia volunteers, were despatched to Port Colborne to protect the Welland Canal. This force was about nine hundred strong and was under command of Colonel Booker, an inexperienced volunteer officer, who trusted too much to his own supposed wisdom, and did not obey the orders of his superior officer, Colonel Peacock. Meanwhile other troops had been hastily gathering on the Niagara frontier, and late on Friday night seven hundred and fifty regulars and about one thousand volunteers, the whole under command of Colonel Peacock, had assembled at Chippewa, where it was expected that Colonel Booker would join him. Early on Saturday morning that officer left Port Colborne, and advanced six miles by rail and three on foot to form a junction with Peacock. The utmost ignorance prevailed as to the whereabouts of O'Neil, but he was generally supposed to be still at Fort Erie, and Booker was greatly surprised when he encountered the Fenian outposts at Limeridge (or Ridgeway), about nine o'clock on Saturday morning. Instead of withdrawing his men, and awaiting a junction with Peacock's forces, he rashly determined on an attack with the few raw forces he had. The Queen's Own were thrown forward in skirmishing order and drove back the Fenian outposts ; but the advance of a few horsemen threw the volunteers into confusion while trying to form a square, and a discharge of musketry caused the panic so common with raw troops, and Booker's whole force was soon in full retreat, having had one officer and six men killed, and four officers and nineteen men wounded. The loss of the Fenians was slight, but has never been correctly stated.

Victory of the Fenians at Ridgeway.

7.—Although O'Neil had achieved an easy victory he was not disposed to follow it up by pursuing Booker's demoralized command, but, learning that Colonel Peacock was advancing against

Retreat of the Fenians.

him with a body of regulars and some artillery, he determined to retreat to Fort Erie, and keep open his communication with Buffalo; he accordingly fell back rapidly on the fort, arriving there about two o'clock in the afternoon. Meanwhile a tug-boat from Port Colborne, with Lieutenant-Colonel Dennis and a company of about seventy men, had arrived at the fort, captured the sixty Fenians left in charge of it, and taken possession. O'Neil on his arrival at once attacked the fort and speedily recaptured it, thirteen of the volunteers being wounded and forty made prisoners; he did not recapture his own prisoners, however, as they had been conveyed to the tug and secured in the hold. The Fenians lost five men in the attack besides many wounded. Meanwhile the Fenian sympathizers in Buffalo were making great efforts to reinforce O'Neil; and near midnight about four hundred men, with plenty of arms and provisions, were embarked in two canal boats, and towed out of the harbor, with the intention of crossing to Fort Erie. But by this time O'Neil had made up his mind that he had had enough of Canada; already numbers of his men had deserted and escaped to the American side in small boats, and when he saw the barges being towed over, he sent a small boat to intercept them, ordered the troops to return, and the barges to be brought back empty for his men to recross to Buffalo. This was done, and early on Sunday morning about nine hundred of the Fenians embarked on the boats, and were tugged over to the American side; but here they met with a new difficulty, the American authorities were now fully aroused, and the armed propeller *Harrison* intercepted the boats, and soon had them anchored under the guns of the *Michigan*. The Fenians who were left on Canadian soil endeavored to escape as best they could, some crossed in small boats, others tried to cross on planks, and some took to the woods and were captured on Sunday, when Peacock's forces came up. The prisoners taken by the Fenians were left in Fort Erie, and those Fenians who had been captured were sent to Toronto jail.

8.—The Fenian organs in New York claimed that the movement of O'Neil was only intended as a feint, and, of course, magnified the success of the raid; and their second attempt the following week showed that a combined movement had been intended, but failed for want of proper organization. At the same time that O'Neil was invading Canada from Fort Erie, other bodies were collecting at Ogdensburg and St. Albans, the former being intended to cross to Prescott and attack Ottawa; but the rapid massing of two thousand troops at Prescott, and the appearance of a British gunboat in the river effectually checked any attempt to cross, and they moved downwards to Malone, menacing Cornwall, but the concentration of three thousand volunteers there foiled any effort in that direction. The last attempt at invasion was made from St.

Albans, from whence about two thousand men, under command of a man called Spear, crossed the border on the seventh of June and advanced three miles into the country to a place called Pigeon Hill, where they formed a camp and sent out parties foraging the country, robbing hen-roosts, &c.; but the advance of some troops on the eighth caused them to make a hasty retreat across the frontier, where Spear and some of the other leaders were arrested by the United States authorities. By this time President Johnson had discovered that unless he wanted to involve the United States in war with Great Britain, he must take rigorous measures to suppress the Fenians; he therefore despatched Meade to the Canada frontier, and that officer at once seized all the arms and ammunition he could find at Ogdensburg, prevented any more reinforcements coming North, arrested all the leaders he could catch, and sent the bulk of the Fenians back to New York and other points they had come from. Within a few days after Meade's arrival at Ogdensburg, all was quiet along the frontier; nor was any further attempt made during the summer; gunboats guarded the lakes and river and troops were stationed along the frontier so as to render any further attempt abortive. Thus ended the first Fenian raid. The actual loss inflicted was not very heavy, but the expense of calling out forty thousand volunteers, and keeping them in the field, was very great, and the loss of life was sadly felt throughout Canada. The University of Toronto erected a handsome monument to the memory of those who fell at Ridgeway, in the Queen's Park, Toronto; and a grateful country showed its appreciation of its citizen-soldiers by pensions to widows and orphans, and compensation to those who fell.

9.—While the Fenian excitement was still at its height Parliament assembled, on the eighth of June, for the first time in the new Parliament buildings, Ottawa. Lord Monck in opening the session spoke of the necessity for finding new channels for trade to supply the place of that lost by the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, and referred to the commission sent to the West Indies, &c., which we have already referred to. With reference to the Fenian invasion he asked to have the *Habeas Corpus* act suspended, and also said that the revenue receipts had been so much in excess of the estimates, that he had been able to meet the large expense caused by the raids out of current receipts. The most important act passed during the session was the one altering the tariff by reducing the rate on imported goods from twenty per cent to fifteen, but at the same time some encouragement was given to home manufactures by placing a number of articles, which entered largely into manufactures, on the free list. Resolutions were introduced and passed, defining the constitutions of Upper and Lower

End of the Fenian invasion.

Last session of the Parliament of the Province of Canada.

Canada after the proposed division of the Province of Canada, and these resolutions were afterwards embodied in the British North America Act. The writ of *Habeas Corpus* was suspended for a year, and several other useful measures passed, and the last session of the Province of Canada was brought to a close on the fifteenth of August. "Thus passed away in calm a constitution which, born in strife and turmoil, sprung from mal-administration and rebellion—forced upon a reluctant Province (the oldest and at the time the most important section of the Union), without consulting its people, and against the wishes of the majority of its inhabitants—had, nevertheless, during twenty-five years of unexampled prosperity and material progress, laid the foundation deep and strong of true Constitutional liberty, had removed the asperities of race, and taught the united descendants of France and England that the true source of their future greatness and power on this continent would lie in a mutual regard for each other's rights, a mutual forbearance for each other's prejudices, and a generous, strong, conjoint effort towards consolidating their extensive territories, and developing their vast resources under one government and one flag." *

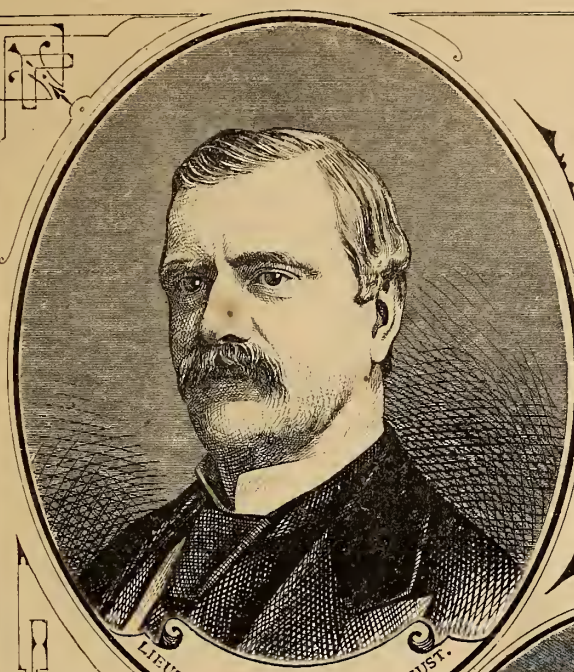
10. — A wild attempt was made by some politicians in the United States, who feared to see a strong Confederation growing up in Canada, to sow the seeds of discord by introducing in the American House of Representatives a bill providing for the admission of Canada and the Maritime Provinces into the Union as four States; but the people of Canada only laughed at the idea, and the scheme failed utterly. The summer and fall were not marked with any very noticeable features, except that Quebec was again visited by a terrible fire, which swept away twenty-one hundred houses, and left nearly twenty thousand persons homeless and destitute. The whole of St. Roch suburb and most of St. Sauveur were destroyed, and the burnt district covered a space about one mile long by half a mile wide. The catas-

Twenty thousand persons burnt out at Quebec. Trial of the Fenians. Confederation.

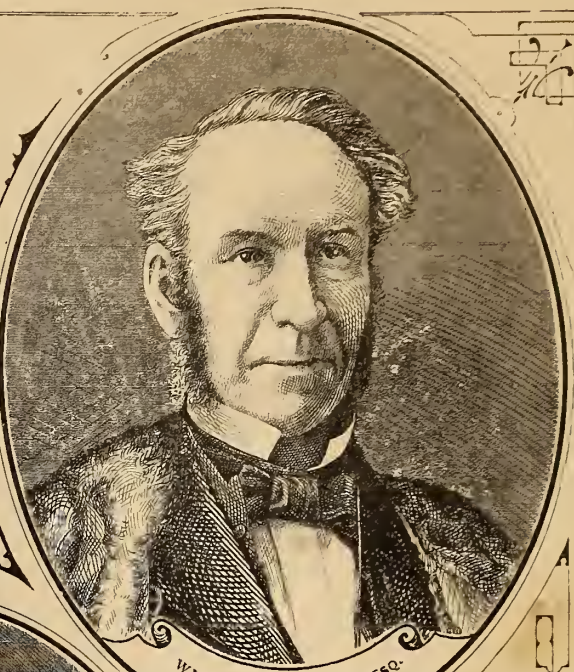
* Gray's Confederation of Canada.

trophe called forth, as usual, the hearty sympathy and generous assistance of all the cities and towns in Canada, and considerable help was sent from England and other countries; but Quebec has never thoroughly recovered from the successive devastations of the fire fiend, added to the removal of the seat of government, and the loss of her trade by the rapid growth of Montreal, as the deepening of the channel through Lake St. Peter has allowed the largest ocean-going vessels to come up to the head of navigation, and "the ancient capital" has gradually fallen behind the other Canadian towns during the past few years. In October the trial of the Fenians took place at Toronto, and resulted in the discharge of all but a few of the ringleaders, the grand jury returning "no bill" against them. The leaders were, however, tried and condemned to be hung, but their sentences were afterwards commuted to imprisonment. Immediately after the prorogation of Parliament the governor-general and a deputation proceeded to England to complete the necessary arrangements for Confederation, an account of which mission we have already given in chapter 102; and on the first day of July, 1867, — just ten years from the day on which we write these lines, — the Dominion of Canada was born, amid the universal rejoicing of a happy people, whose faith that in union they would find strength, peace, and prosperity, has not been betrayed by an experience of ten years. In concluding this chapter we give, as usual, the names of the governors and administrators of the Province of Canada:

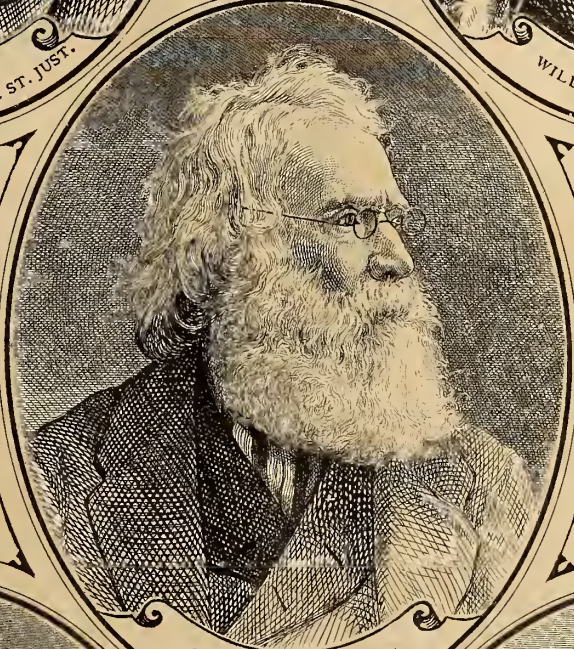
Baron Sydenham and Toronto,	. . . . .	1841.
Gen. Sir R. Jackson, Adm.,	. . . . .	1841.
Sir Charles Bagot,	. . . . .	1842.
Sir Charles Metcalfe,	. . . . .	1843.
Earl Cathcart,	. . . . .	1845.
Earl of Elgin and Kincardine,	. . . . .	1847.
Sir Edmund W. Head,	. . . . .	1854 and 1857.
Gen. Sir William Eyre, Adm.,	. . . . .	1857.
Lord Viscount Monck,	. . . . .	1861 and 1866.
Gen. Sir John Michel, Adm.,	. . . . .	1865.



LIEUT. GOV. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST.



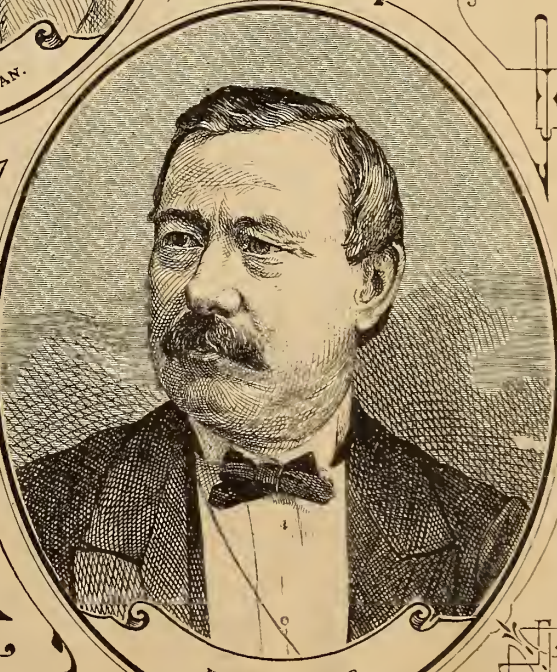
WILLIAM WORKMAN, ESQ.



SIR WILLIAM E. LOGAN.



HON. RICH'D CARTWRIGHT.



JUDGE FOURNIER.

